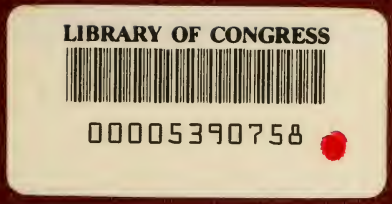
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THE RUINS OF MELROSE ABBEY

This beautiful abbey near Edinburgh in Scotland was burned by soldiers of Henry VIII in 1544. See Scott's lines in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel:* "If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright, go visit it by the pale moonlight;" etc.

THE MODERN WORLD

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ANCIENT TIMES

BY

REV. FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

AND

REV. ALFRED KAUFMANN, S.J.

. . . ars historica quae tantum habet nobilitatis.

. . . historical science endowed with so eminent a degree of nobility. — LEO XIII.

VOLUME II

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TABLE OF CONTENTS (*Continued*)

PART II. ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXV.	Review of the Changes between 1450 and 1600	431
XXVI.	England under the First Two Stuarts	
	A. James I	439
	B. Charles I	442
XXVII.	The Great Rebellion and the Commonwealth	
	A. The Civil War	451
	B. England under Cromwell	454
XXVIII.	The Restoration and the Revolution	
	A. England under the Last Two Stuarts	460
	B. The Revolution of 1688	464
XXIX.	The Expansion of Europe	
	A. Beginnings: Spain and Portugal	473
	B. France in America	474
	C. England in America	476

PART III. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

XXX.	French Leadership	
	A. Character of the Period	480
	B. Wars of Louis XIV	481
	C. Conditions in France under Louis XIV	486
XXXI.	The Rise of Russia	489
XXXII.	Prussia in Europe — England in New Worlds	
	A. Prussia before Frederick the Great	493
	B. Frederick the Great	494
	C. The Seven Years' War	496

CHAPTER PAGE

XXXIII. Austria and the East

A. Austria and the Southeast 501
B. The Partitions of Poland 505

PART IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

XXXIV. On the Eve of the French Revolution

A. The French People 509
B. Government and Taxation 514
C. The Spirit of the Revolution 519
D. Attempts at Reform 524

XXXV. The Revolution in Time of Peace

A. May to August, 1789: The Assembly at Versailles 528
B. August, 1789, to September, 1791: The Assembly in Paris 536
C. The Constitution of 1791 540
D. The Legislative Assembly to the War . . 544

XXXVI. The Revolution at War

A. The War to the Fall of the Monarchy . . 550
B. The Fall of the Monarchy; the Girondists . 554
C. The Reign of Terror 558

XXXVII. The Directory

A. Ascendancy of the Middle Class . . . 565
B. The Rise of Napoleon 566

XXXVIII. The Consulate 572

XXXIX. The French Empire

A. The Government of Napoleon . . . 577
B. The Wars of Napoleon 579
C. The Fall of Napoleon 590

PART V. THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

XL. The Congress of Vienna: Rearrangement . 594

XLI. Central Europe to 1830 601

XLII. The South of Europe — Revolutions of 1820 608

CHAPTER PAGE

XLIII. France, 1815–1830
A. The Monarchy under the Bourbons . . 615
B. The Revolution of 1830 617
C. The Revolution of 1830 over Europe . . 619

PART VI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

XLIV. The Revolutions in Methods of Work . . 621
XLV. The Revolution in the Workers' Lives . . 630
XLVI. The Revolution in Ideas about Government . 636

PART VII. CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848–1871

XLVII. The Revolution of 1848 in France . . . 643
XLVIII. The Second French Empire, 1852–1870 . . 651
XLIX. Central Europe in 1848 657
A. The Revolution in the Austrian Empire . 658
B. The Revolution in Germany 661
C. The Revolution in Italy 664
L. The Making of Italy 671
LI. The Making of Germany
A. The Expulsion of Austria from the Confederation 679
B. The Founding of the German Empire . . 686

PART VIII. GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1815

LII. Political Reform in England
A. The First Reform Bill 692
B. Reforms in the Victorian Age . . . 697
C. The British Constitution 702
LIII. Social Reform in England 707
LIV. England and the Irish Question . . . 714
LV. English Colonies and Dependencies . . 724

PART IX. WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

CHAPTER		PAGE
LVI.	FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC	
	A. The Paris Commune	731
	B. The Definite Establishment of the Republic	734
	C. France To-day	739
LVII.	GERMANY AFTER 1871	
	A. The Government	747
	B. Recent Movements	753
	C. Trade and Colonies	760
LVIII.	ITALY SINCE 1870	763
LIX.	AUSTRIA-HUNGARY	768
LX.	THE SMALLER STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE	
	A. Spain	773
	B. Portugal	780
	C. Belgium	782
	D. Holland	785
	E. The Swiss Republic	786
	F. Denmark	792
	G. Norway	794
	H. Sweden	797

PART X. SLAV EUROPE

LXI.	RUSSIA	
	A. Growth and Population	799
	B. Economic and Social Movements	804
	C. Government and Politics	807
LXII.	THE BALKAN STATES	816

PART XI. THE NEW AGE

LXIII.	THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO AFRICA AND ASIA	
	A. World Commerce	827
	B. Partition of Africa	834
	C. European Expansion in Asia	836

CHAPTER PAGE

LXIV. International Relations since 1871

A. Alliances 842

B. Other Movements 848

LXV. The Great War

A. Outbreak of the Great War 853

B. The Course of the War 858

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Charles I	442
Cromwell	455
Louis XIV	486
Church of St. Basil, Moscow	489
Peter the Great	491
Château of Chenonceaux	511
Voltaire	521
Marie Antoinette	524
Fall of the Bastille	533
Lafayette	539
Robespierre	548
Napoleon at Arcola	566
Arch of Triumph, Paris	575
The Vendôme Column	580
Napoleon toward the Close of His Rule	583
Napoleon Leaving Moscow	591
The Duke of Wellington	597
Metternich	602
The Wartburg Castle	606
A Complete Assortment of Farm Tools in 1800	622
Whitney's Cotton Gin	624
Fulton's *Clermont*	627
First Steam Passenger Train in America	628
Karl Marx	637
Leo XIII	640
Napoleon III	649
St. Paul's Church at Frankfort	662
Mazzini	666
Pius IX	668
Cavour	671
Victor Emmanuel I	677
Bismarck	681
Proclamation of the German Empire	690
Queen Victoria	697

PAGE

Disraeli 698
Cardinal Newman 709
Gladstone 712
Daniel O'Connell 718
Lloyd George 722
Gibraltar 725
The Parliament Building in Ottawa 729
Thiers 735
Chamber of Deputies, Paris 738
A Typical Alpine Town 787
A Fjord in Norway 794
The Church of the Archangel, Moscow 799
The Congress of Berlin 819
Constantinople 825
The Hague Peace Palace 849
General Pershing 863

MAPS

		PAGE
Europe, 1740–1789; Colored	*facing*	493
Prussia at the Death of Frederick the Great		499
The Partitions of Poland		505
Europe in 1802; Colored	*after*	572
Europe in 1810; Colored	*after*	586
Europe in 1815; Colored	*after*	594
The Germanic Confederation; Colored	*after*	602
Growth of Italian Unity		673
Prussia, 1815–1867		684
The German Empire of 1871; Colored	*after*	748
Austria-Hungary: Race Distribution; Colored	*facing*	769
The Balkan States, 1878–1881; Colored	*after*	820
The Balkan States, 1912–1913		824
Africa in 1914; Colored	*facing*	835
The World Powers; Colored	*after*	840
Europe in 1914; Colored	*after*	854

They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Then he gives this piteous picture of the peasants who have been driven from their homes: —

"By one means or another, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart, poor wretched souls — men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with young babes. . . . All their household stuff . . . suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged, or else go about begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, — whom no man will set to work though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."

Other statesmen bewailed the fact that sheep should take the place of the peasantry who had won Crécy and Poitiers, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing. Nor did the peasants' risings and riots help (§ 375). On the other hand, *Henry VIII's transfer of monastery lands (at least one fifth of England) to greedy private landlords increased the inclosure movement tremendously;* and it went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising had found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied, and the growth of the town population raised the price of grain. These towns, as we shall explain later (§ 417), became the basis of a new sort of prosperity for England, and the land changes described above created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics.

But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages of England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of peasants, driven from their homes, became tramps; and laborers were

forced to adopt a lower standard of living, because the cost of food and clothing rose much faster than wages.

More than even formerly, rural England had become a landlord's country. One reason why wages remained so low was that the "justices of peace," generally taken from the gentry and appointed by the crown, were given the power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in batches. In fifty years, in the "glorious" days of Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed. *These conditions explain in part why so many Englishmen from the rural districts were eager to go to America in order to escape the hated landlord.*

416. Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. — Ever since 1450 the English sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth gladly welcomed the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by measures taken against the Huguenots.

Colonies of these foreign artisans were given special quarters in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Raw wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

417. This manufacturing fostered commerce. — By 1600 England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products to distant markets. Merchants increased in wealth and numbers, so as to form a new class of society. In 1350 a census showed only 169 important merchants in England. In 1601 more than twenty times that number were engaged in the trade with Holland alone. By purchase of land and by "royal gifts" from the confiscated church property, the members of this class rose into the new gentry,

and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

418. The rapid growth of manufactures brought with it a revolution in the position of the workers. — *The old gild system broke down and was replaced by the "domestic system" of manufacturing.* The work was still carried on by hand, and mostly in the master's house; but the masters demanded liberty from the old gild control. This greater freedom permitted the more rapid introduction of improved methods; but on the other hand, the gap between master and journeymen grew wider now that they were no longer members of a common self-governing union.

419. The growth of the towns had much to do with the other great changes named in § 413. They gave victory to the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses, and then brought about the final overthrow of feudalism. They were the centers of the literary activity of the Renaissance, but also the strongholds of the religious revolution. And now, in the seventeenth century, they became the chief home of Puritanism, the strongest factor in the religious and political life of England during the period we are next to study.

420. Rise of Puritanism. — At Elizabeth's accession a number of Protestant clergymen, who had fled to Switzerland during the reign of Mary, returned to England, eager to spread the Calvinistic teachings and practices which they had embraced (§ 369).[2] They held that the Church of England had retained too many features of the Catholic Church, and at once set to work to "*purify*" *it from* "*Romish idolatry.*" Hence their name, "*Puritans.*" But Elizabeth had no mind to follow their advice, and the government soon checked their agitation. For the time being the Church of England[1] seemed securely estab-

[1] The Church of England, the Anglican Church, the Established Church, the Episcopal Church, designate the same body, the church set up by Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

lished, but the strife between Puritanism and the crown was to have tremendous consequences under Elizabeth's successors.

421. In the matter of church government the Puritans were for an extension of the movement which had torn England from the Catholic Church. Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition, — an influential "*Low-Church*" *element within the established Church* and the fanatical *Separatists outside of it.*

422. It is the *Low-Church Puritans* with whom we are chiefly concerned for the next fifty years. As a body they had no wish to separate themselves from the Anglican Church. They held that there should be one national church to which all Englishmen should be obliged to conform. But this national church, in their estimation, had so far retained too many practices that reminded the people of the old Catholic services. There was to be more preaching and less ceremony. The surplice, the use of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (with some of them) the official Book of Common Prayer were to be abolished. Gradually they went farther. About 1570 bold attacks were launched against the *constitution of the Anglican Church.* Though ineffectual at the time, they were resumed with greater vigor after the death of Elizabeth. *The very existence of bishops,* it was declared, and their claim to be divinely instituted have no foundation in Scripture. Likewise, *the royal supremacy* in the government of the English church was said to be antichristian. But as to who should exercise supreme authority in that church there was considerable difference of opinion. One party would have given to *parliament* the last word in all religious matters, while others preferred the Scotch system which vested all authority in a *synod or permanent committee of clergymen.*

423. The Independents (or "*Puritans of the Separation*") held that there should be *no national church,* but that each *local church,* or parish, should be wholly *separate from the civil*

power and *independent of other churches.* This party tolerated the most extreme opinions on religious questions, while at the same time it bore a deadly hatred against King, Prelates, and Catholics. To the others they appeared as a lawless element. Elizabeth persecuted them, and her successor continued that policy. Some of these independent congregations fled to Holland; and *one of them, from Scrooby in northern England,* after staying several years at Leyden, *founded Plymouth in America* (the "Pilgrims").

The *Low-Church Puritans* of the milder type had their *strength in the parliament* and in the *city of London;* those who inclined towards Scotch Presbyterianism were numerous among the lower ranks of the Anglican clergy, while the Independents recruited their followers chiefly among the poorer classes in eastern counties. Later, *Oliver Cromwell became their acknowledged leader.*

424. Political liberty had fallen low under the Tudors. — True, no law could be made without consent of parliament, and that body controlled all grants of money. But the monarch (or his ministers) prepared nearly all measures that came before parliament; he could veto any act of parliament, and, after a law had been made, he sometimes nullified it by special proclamations. This last privilege was later made use of by the Stuart kings, but with disastrous consequences. Moreover, the king had so many ways of injuring a private man that it was extremely hazardous for any one persistently to oppose him.

But after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely only because they made use of constitutional forms (§ 302), and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them how far they might safely proceed. Moreover, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils (Spanish or French aggression) were past, *the tone of parliament began to rise again.* Men spoke boldly of checks upon the royal power; parliament

and courts even extorted a promise from the aged queen to give up her practice of granting trade monopolies to her favorites. It was plain to keen observers that only the reverence for Elizabeth's age and the gratitude for her real or imaginary services to the realm held off an open clash between sovereign and parliament. Upon her death the clash began, — to last eighty-five years. It cost the life of one king and the exile of another.

CHAPTER XXVI

ENGLAND UNDER THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

A. James I

425. Elizabeth in 1603 was succeeded by James I (son of Mary Stuart), already King of Scotland since 1567 (see note to § 371). James was shrewd and quick of apprehension, but ungainly in appearance and slovenly in his habits. His natural indolence made him leave the details of government to his favorites, while he preferred for himself the pleasures of the chase and the table. He, like his predecessors, entertained a very high idea of kingly power and armed himself against opponents with his doctrine of the "*Divine Right of Kings.*" According to this theory *the king, by the will of God, is the only source of all political power.* Hence opposition to the royal will is sinful. "As it is atheism and blasphemy in creatures to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what the king can do, or to say that the king cannot do this or that."[1]

In this attitude James and his successors found *loyal support* from that humble handmaid of the state, *the Established Church.* As it was the creature of royal absolutism, it naturally turned to its makers for favor, and the king considered it the firmest prop of his authority. On the other side, the parliament in its opposition against the royal prerogatives and the Puritans

[1] It is God's will that there be in every state a government to whose lawful commands all owe obedience. In this sense every legitimate ruler rules by "Divine Right." But from that it does not follow that the ruler can do no wrong and that resistance to the government is *always* sinful.

in their hatred against episcopacy joined hands in defense of their common interests. Hence we find that in the civil strife that followed the death of Elizabeth and lasted for the next eighty-five years, *the fortunes of the king and of the Established Church rise and fall together.* Only towards the end of that period the Church goes over to the camp of the enemies of the second James, the grandson of the first.

426. Both the Catholics and the Puritans hailed the coming of James with joy, and both were sadly disappointed. — The Catholics hoped for fairer treatment by the son of the unfortunate Queen of Scots (§ 394). In the beginning, indeed, James seemed inclined not to enforce the Penal Laws (§ 385) too strictly. But the fanatical taunt of "Popery" from the Puritans soon turned the weak and cowardly king into a persecutor. This embittered a few young and ardent spirits among the Catholics so much that they formed a plot to revenge themselves on their persecutors. They planned to blow up the parliament building on the day when the king would open the session in presence of the Lords and the Commons (November 5, 1605). The plot was betrayed, and only served to make the lot of the Catholics harder, although there was not the slightest evidence that any one, besides the conspirators, knew of the criminal enterprise.[1]

427. The Puritans on their part, knowing that James had been reared in the tenets of Scotch Calvinism, expected that he would purge the Established Church from the remnants of "Popish practices." But they, too, were soon disillusioned. James made no effort to conceal his dislike for the Presbyterian form of church government. He had forced bishops on the unwilling Scotch (§ 395), and he was not going to be deprived of these tools in England. "No bishops, no king," was his motto. He threatened that if the Puritans refused to

[1] Special Report: "The Gunpowder Plot." See Lingard-Birt, p. 422, or Gerard's *What was the Gunpowder Plot?*

conform he would "harry them out of the land, or even do worse."

428. Wrangling with Parliament. — James' relations with the House of Commons were marked by a *series of quarrels*. He seldom called parliaments, and only when he needed money. Whenever he did, there was a clash.

The regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of the government called for more funds. Besides, James was wasteful where Elizabeth had been miserly. At first he tried to obtain more money by *increasing the customs duties*. Parliament objected. The *monopolies* of the Crown were another source of income, but the Commons maintained — and rightly — that they were only a means to enrich ministers and other courtiers, and, accordingly, *they asserted their right to impeach ministers*. In 1621 James summoned a parliament to obtain subsidies for his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate. In the Thirty Years' War (§ 410) Frederick was one of the leading men on the Protestant side. His cause was, therefore, popular in England, especially since Spain, England's old enemy, supported the Catholic party. But in spite of English assistance Frederick was defeated and expelled from the Palatinate. James then conceived the idea of restoring him to his dominions through Spanish influence. For this purpose he planned a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish princess. The Commons, who cared very little for poor Frederick's personal losses but were eager for a war with Spain, expressed their dissatisfaction with these marriage plans. James told them bluntly not to discuss these "high mysteries of state," whereupon *the Commons drew up a protest insisting upon their right to discuss all matters of state* and asserted their right of freedom of speech. James tore out this page of the records and dissolved parliament. However, the project of the Spanish marriage failed, and the king opened negotiations for an alliance with Henrietta, sister

of Louis XIII of France. In the marriage contract James and Charles secretly pledged their word to grant relief to their Catholic subjects, although previously Charles had declared on oath that the Catholic marriage should be of "no advantage" to the recusants at home. During these negotiations parliament was again summoned; the Commons granted supplies to be spent on the defense of the realm and on a war with Spain. A force was landed in Holland to serve against the Spanish troops on the Rhine, but the expedition was utterly mismanaged, and amid the general outcry of indignation James died, leaving to his son Charles a heritage of trouble.

CHARLES I. — After a famous portrait by Van Dyck.

B. CHARLES I

429. Charles I (1625–1649) was a more kingly personage than his father, but he was also *more arbitrary* and more *self-willed*. His personal morals were above reproach and his *devotion to the Established Church was sincere*. He thought it his *solemn duty to preserve the royal rights* as they were exercised by the Tudors and by his father, not realizing that circumstances and the spirit of the nation had radically changed since that time. Hence it was that, even when he was compelled to yield, he did so with the intention of reasserting his rights as soon as altered circumstances would permit it. This

made it impossible for him to acquiesce honestly in any agreement which limited his power.

430. When Charles met his first parliament he quarreled with it at once. — The Commons voted an insufficient sum for the war with Spain and proposed to grant the tonnage and poundage (revenue from import and export duties) for one year only and not for life, as had been the custom in preceding reigns. Moreover, the favors shown to Catholics since his marriage with Henrietta aroused suspicion, and he had to put into force the Penal Laws in spite of the promise made to Louis XIII (§ 428).

In his second parliament Charles met still stronger opposition. The Commons were led by *Sir John Eliot*, a gentleman from Cornwall, who became the first "*Great Commoner*" of England. The anger of parliament was directed in particular against the *Duke of Buckingham*, the prime minister and a special favorite of the king. The duke had sent a fleet to Cadiz to capture the Spanish treasure ships, but the expedition proved an utter failure. Later some English ships were lent to Richelieu to help crush the Huguenots (§ 408). The Puritans in parliament were so incensed at this war against their co-religionists in France that they demanded the impeachment of Buckingham Then Charles promptly dismissed parliament.

431. But the king needed money, and that all the more because he now entered upon a war with France. Richelieu was determined to deprive the Huguenots of their political privileges, and Charles felt bound to come to their aid. To raise the necessary money without parliament he fell back upon the "*benevolences*" (§ 302). These "benevolences" were now asked of *all* taxpayers through the county courts. But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for parliament.

Then Charles tried a "*forced loan*." This was really a tax levied by the usual tax collector, and only thinly disguised by

the promise to repay at some future time. The king's party used both force and persuasion. The Anglican clergy preached from the pulpits that to resist the king was sinful and deserved eternal damnation.

Besides, poor freeholders who refused to pay were "*pressed*" *into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their homes.* Two hundred wealthy gentlemen were confined in prisons to subdue their obstinacy. Still, the forced loan raised little revenue; and with a fleet poorly fitted out Buckingham sailed against France. The expedition was another complete failure.

432. The Petition of Rights. — Charles, sunk in debt and shame, had to face his third parliament in 1628. The imprisoned gentlemen were released before the elections, and some seventy of them (all who "ran" for election) sat in the new parliament, in spite of the king's efforts to prevent their choice. Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security for the future. Finally they passed the *Petition of Rights, a document that ranks with the Magna Carta in the history of English liberties.* Charles, after vainly trying to evade it, had to give his assent in order to obtain money. It thus became the law of the land.

It provided:

(1) That no one should be required to give any loan, gift, or tax to the government, unless it was granted by act of parliament;

(2) That no one should be imprisoned contrary to the law of the land, not even by the king's orders;

(3) That soldiers and marines should not be quartered in private homes;

(4) That towns and districts should not be punished by putting them under martial law.

The Bill of Rights was the *first restriction of royal power* as assumed by the Tudors. Charles then adjourned the parlia-

ment. Before it met again, Buckingham, the "grievance of grievances," had been assassinated.

433. Eliot's "Resolutions." — When parliament assembled again it was in bitter humor. Charles during the recess had managed to get money by collecting the tonnage and poundage, claiming that these were not included in the restrictions of the Bill of Rights. The Commons were, however, determined to get the purse strings into their hands. Heedless of the king's plea for money they turned to punish the royal officers who had collected the customs. Then the Speaker stopped business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.[1] Instantly there was an uproar. Two of the members held the Speaker in his chair,[2] while the bulk of the others voted *three resolutions proposed by Eliot.* These resolutions denounced as traitors (1) any one who advised the levy of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, (2) any one who paid them, (3) any one who supported Popery and Arminianism (§ 437). Charles at once dissolved parliament and sent Eliot and some others to the Tower. Eliot died there four years later.

434. "No Parliament." — During the next eleven years Charles tried to get along without parliament. He issued royal edicts in place of laws, and thus England was from 1629 to 1640 under the personal rule of the king. At first the people readily acquiesced in a situation which had obtained more than once since the days of the Tudors. Charles practiced rigid economy to avoid calling upon the Commons for supplies. He kept peace with the rest of Europe, but, as all foreign powers believed that Charles could not wage effective war, the prestige and authority of England sank to

[1] The King could *adjourn* the parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no new parliament could meet until he had called for new elections.

[2] If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

a very low level and was not revived till after the death of Charles.

435. Ship-money. — In spite of all this the king soon found that the income of the crown fell far short of requirements. Hence he had to resort to various means of raising money, such as charges for conferring titles of nobility, monopolies, fines for the breach of the forest rights of the crown. *Finally his lawyers devised a new tax, the "ship-money."* It had long been the practice of English kings in time of war to demand from the seaport counties ships and crews, or, when it seemed more convenient, to accept money instead. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "ship-money tax" *from all England in time of peace.*

John Hampden, a wealthy merchant from Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his land, and the case went into the courts. The judges, who had long ago become tools of the king, decided for Charles, as had been expected. But the arguments of the lawyers on both sides attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of absolutism with perfect frankness. It declared that there was no power to check the king's authority over his subjects, "*For*," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of parliament makes any difference.*" The nature of the Stuart rule was now clear to all men.

436. The chief servants of the Crown during this period were *Sir Thomas Wentworth* (*Earl of Strafford*), *and Archbishop Laud.* Wentworth had been active in securing the Petition of Rights, but soon afterwards he passed over to the king's side, probably because he thought that the claims of the Commons would eventually destroy the very foundations of the English government. Wentworth was a man of uncommon ability and will power. He might have saved the Stuart monarchy, but Charles never gave him his entire confidence. He had been Lord Deputy in Ireland and as such had extorted large sums of

money from the Irish parliament for real or apparent royal favors. His ability to fill the treasury induced Charles to call him to his council.

437. Archbishop Laud, — The Religious Question. — In the beginning of the seventeenth century a reaction against Calvinism had set in on the Continent. The movement was led by a Dutch parson named *Arminius*, and soon found its way into England, where Laud, then bishop of London, became its chief supporter. Under Charles I Arminianism was the religion of the court and, of course, the staunch defender of the Divine Right theory. But as the Arminians gradually drew away from Calvinism they more and more approached Catholic doctrine and practice, and thereby aroused the fierce hostility of the Puritans. One of Eliot's Resolutions was directly aimed at them (§ 433). And since the Puritans formed the majority in parliament, *religion and politics became mixed up in inextricable confusion.*

In 1633 the king made Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, which gave him authority over the entire clergy. The new archbishop at once set to work to reform according to Arminian standards. Resistance on the part of the Puritan clergy led to petty vexations and persecutions. The Puritans, on their part, retaliated by raising the cry of "Popery" against Laud *and — indirectly — against Charles.* True, the Catholics, for quite a while, had been treated with unaccustomed leniency, but neither the king nor the archbishop had any thought of submitting to Rome.

A few years later *Laud tried to force his reforms on the Scots.*[1] James I had established episcopacy, and the Scots only murmured (§ 427). But now their pent-up anger burst into flames.

[1] Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own parliament and church; the union was "personal," and consisted in the fact the two countries had the same king. This remained the theory until 1707 (§ 468).

When the clergyman in St. Giles Church at Edinburgh began to read the new English Prayer-book, a stool was hurled at his head, and the service broke up in wild disorder. In a short time hundreds of men had signed their names to a "*Solemn Oath and Covenant*" to preserve their form of religion. From the capital the movement spread like wildfire over lowland Scotland. Episcopacy was abolished, the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border. Charles was defeated and had to promise a heavy sum to the invaders. Not knowing where to get the money, and acting upon the advice of Wentworth, *he called the famous body known as the Long Parliament* (November, 1640).

438. The Long Parliament. — The position of the new parliamentarians was unprecedented in English history. The Scots had invaded the country and claimed from the king the payment of £850 a day. In order to get the money Charles had to keep parliament in session and to assent to its bills. The aim of the majority, *led by Pym and Hampden*, was to restore what they considered the true balance between king and Commons. To achieve this they thought it necessary to get rid of the chief agents of the king, Wentworth and Laud. Accordingly, both were impeached and condemned to death, though neither was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. The king, frightened by the threats of mob violence, gave his assent to the execution of Wentworth, and the head of the minister fell on May 12, 1641. "Put not your trust in princes," was his only comment on the cowardice of his royal master. The trial and execution of Laud came a few years later.

A series of acts was then passed sweeping away the system of government which had been in use since the days of the Tudors. The *Triennial Act* ordered that parliament should be elected every three years. Another act provided that the existing *parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent*, a measure which made it independent of the king. Then the Commons abolished the *Star Chamber and the High Commis-*

sion, — two rather new courts which worked without juries and were, therefore, subservient to the king. *Tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament were declared illegal*, and the ship-money tax was discontinued. After these and other measures the parliament adjourned. So far the Commons had been united, but now the split began.

439. The Royalist Reaction. — Charles had in the meantime gone to Scotland to win over that country to his side. During his absence a royalist reaction set in. There were many in the Commons who thought that the king had made every concession which could be reasonably demanded, and that to go further would mean revolution and lawlessness. Moreover, with many Presbyterianism found little favor, and, when Pym and Hampden came forward with a proposal to abolish episcopacy "root and branch," a large party under Hyde and Falkland opposed further changes. An Irish rebellion and an attempt to arrest a party of Scotch Presbyterians, for both of which incidents the king was blamed, only helped to increase the existing tension.

440. When parliament met again, Pym brought forward the Grand Remonstrance, a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in taking further measures against the king. In particular it proposed (1) that a synod of the clergy should be held to "reform" the church along Puritan lines, (2) that the *king's choice of ministers should be subject to the approval of parliament*. After an all-day and almost all-night debate, marked by bitter speeches on both sides, *the Remonstrance was adopted* by the narrow majority of eleven votes and amid scenes of wild confusion.

441. The Rupture between King and Parliament. — Charles now seemed able to control affairs, backed as he was by a large party. But he threw away his advantage by ordering the impeachment of Pym, Hampden, and of three others. They were accused of treason, — of having invited the Scots to invade England. The charge was probably true, but the Commons

paid no attention to it, and the king resolved on a bold stroke. He entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize the "*five members.*" But news of his coming had preceded him, and the five members had withdrawn. Charles did not know this and ordered the Speaker to point them out. The Speaker protested that "he had no eyes to see, no tongue to speak" but as the House should direct him. "Well, well!" said the king; "my eyes are as good as another's"; and standing in the Speaker's place he looked around the room. "I see the birds are flown," he added in a different tone, — and walked out, baffled and humiliated, and followed by angry shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!"[1]

This bold attempt and its disgraceful failure consolidated the opposition. London began to arm and sent trainbands to guard parliament. And parliament now demanded that the king give it control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes. Charles withdrew to the loyal North where, on August 22, 1642, *he unfurled the royal standard*, thus ending the battle of words and beginning the clash of arms.

For Further Reading. — For a more detailed account the student may consult Lingard-Birt, pp. 419 ff., or Wyatt-Davies, pp. 259 ff.

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[1] Referring to the privilege of members of parliament to be free from arrest, except on the order of the House itself.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

A. The Civil War

442. The Civil War (1642–1649). — The strength of the king's party lay in the North and West and that of the parliament in the southeastern counties, but there was no sharp dividing line. The struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king had on his side the majority of the nobility and country squires, and the adherents of the Anglican Church who feared the narrow Presbyterianism which parliament tried to establish. The Catholics loyally supported the king. The trading and manufacturing classes and the yeomanry, especially in the eastern counties, were for parliament, and London led the great towns in upholding the parliamentary cause. The navy, too, gave its assistance to the opponents of the king. The king's party took the name of "*Cavaliers*" from the large number of nobles fighting in its ranks; while the parliamentarians were called "*Roundheads*," the term being applied to them because many of them cropped their hair close to the head simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long flowing locks.

443. At first Charles was successful. — The untrained peasants and townsmen were no match for the habitual bravery and daring of the English gentlemen. The king's object was to take the capital. After a battle at *Edgehill* the way to London was open to him, but instead he retired to Oxford and thus lost his best chance to decide the war quickly.

Meantime parliament had been negotiating with the Scots.

They reached an agreement whereby the Scotch army was to come to the assistance of parliament and the latter pledged itself to establish a Presbyterian system of church government as nearly akin to the Scotch Kirk as possible. Charles, on the other hand, hoped for assistance from the Irish insurgents (§ 439), but his scheme failed completely.

444. In the meantime the parliamentary army had produced a leader who was destined to bring victory to its banner. Oliver Cromwell, a native of the eastern counties, had raised a body of cavalry known as the "*Ironsides.*" These he trained and drilled and commanded so efficiently that they soon surpassed any other body of fighters, Cavalier as well as Roundhead. They were chiefly recruited from the *Independents* (§ 423), and Cromwell knew how to inspire them with a fanatical zeal and a stern devotion to their cause which effectively matched the chivalry and loyalty of the Cavaliers. In the battle of *Marston Moor* they showed the results of their training and inflicted a crushing defeat on the royalists. *Henceforth the North was lost to the king.* But Cromwell did not rest on his laurels. He realized that if the war must be ended it had to be fought by standing armies and not by contingents of raw recruits that melted away and went to their homes after every campaign. Moreover, he was thoroughly disgusted with the half-hearted way in which some of the parliamentarian generals conducted military operations. To mend matters he urged two measures upon parliament, the *Self-denying Ordinance* and the *remodeling of the army.* Both were passed. By the first a number of inefficient generals who were at the same time members of parliament had to resign. The second measure created a permanent army, the "*New Model,*" with Cromwell in command. The troops, many of whom were veterans, received regular pay and were carefully trained. Soon after Cromwell's action was justified by the brilliant victory at *Naseby,* which virtually ended the war.

445. Dissensions. — When the war broke out many loyal members of the Established Church in parliament had withdrawn to join the king. This left the Presbyterians in control. They were further strengthened by the support of the Scots (§ 443), to whom they had promised to make the English Church Presbyterian. To redeem this promise parliament now began to compel all men to accept the Presbyterian system. On this point, however, a quarrel broke out between the parliament and the army.

A year after the defeat at Naseby, Charles went secretly to the North and surrendered to the Scots. He hoped to take advantage of the division among his enemies and to use the Scots against the New Model. But negotiations failed because the king absolutely refused to abandon the episcopal system, and shortly after the Scots handed him over to a *commission representing the English parliament.* From now on *he was a prisoner.*

446. For the moment the authority of the parliament seemed undisputed, but its real weakness soon showed itself. — The army, consisting mostly of Independents, was as much *opposed to the religious supremacy of parliament* as it had been to the religious supremacy of the king. When the parliament tried to interfere with the army and to disband part of it the soldiers of Cromwell organized a sort of independent government by appointing a *Council of Officers* with Cromwell at the head. Royalist and Presbyterian risings were soon stamped out, and besides, the *army got possession of the king's person.* Then, under orders from the Council of Officers, Colonel Pride carried what is known as "*Pride's Purge,*" that is, he entered the House of Commons with an armed force and expelled 143 Presbyterian members. The remaining members (rarely more than sixty were present) were subsequently nicknamed "*The Rump,*" and as such continued the Long Parliament. Almost at once it voted the appointment of a High Court of Justice, to *bring the captive king to trial.* As this appointment was rejected by the Lords,

the Commons voted that "legislative power resided solely with the Commons."

Charles was then brought to trial. He refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the court and took the ground that not he but the parliament had broken the fundamental laws of the kingdom. But his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. The unhappy monarch redeemed the errors of his life by the noble firmness with which he met his fate. On January 30, 1649, he was beheaded in front of the royal palace at Whitehall, London, amid groans of pity and horror from the hitherto silent multitude.

B. England under Cromwell

447. The Commonwealth (1648–1654). — The execution of Charles I had really been the *work of the army controlling the parliament.* Only a minority of the High Court had signed the death warrant (the others absenting themselves), and this High Court was appointed by the Rump, the insignificant remnant of the Long Parliament. The real power, therefore, had passed from the representatives of the nation into the hands of a few determined and unscrupulous men. Thus the attempt to restore the English constitution, as it had existed before the Tudors, had lamentably failed. England, instead of being governed by King, Lords, and Commons, was now ruled by the sword. But this condition of things was not destined to last. The army had proved itself powerful enough to destroy, but its attempt to govern against the will of the great majority of the nation was foredoomed to failure.

448. Shortly before the execution of Charles the council of the army proclaimed the so-called *Agreement of the People,* a scheme of a republican constitution, the first and only written constitution England ever had. There was to be a parliament of one House, and the executive power was vested in a council appointed by parliament. The Agreement recommended a

public profession of Christianity "reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship, and discipline," but those who differed from it would not incur penalties. "Popery and prelacy" were, however, excluded from this toleration.

But for the time being it was impossible to carry out this scheme. *Troubles in Ireland* claimed the attention of the new government. To understand them *we have to survey Irish events of the last reign.*

CROMWELL. — After Lely's portrait.

449. Ireland under Charles I. — We have studied the sad story of Ireland under Elizabeth and James I (§ 392). The various plantations under the Tudors and especially the *Ulster Plantation* under James showed the Irish what was in store for them if they meekly submitted to English domination. True, James and Charles for a time mitigated the harsh measures of oppression. But during the administration of Wentworth (§ 436) confiscation of Irish soil and expulsion of Irish landowners were resumed on a large scale. Moreover, English officials in the island and the Puritans in parliament continually clamored for more confiscation and for the total suppression of the Catholic religion.

In 1641 an insurrection broke out in Ulster where the Catholics had suffered more grievously than elsewhere. The English

parliament at once voted the confiscation of two thirds of all Irish estates and the complete suppression of Catholic worship. Upon that the rest of Ireland threw all hesitation to the wind, joined their Ulster brothers, and, under their heroic leader *Owen Roe O'Neill*, began the war for faith and fatherland.

At the same time King Charles entered upon his life and death struggle with the parliament. As the latter had always been the chief enemy of Ireland, the Irish threw in their lot with that of the king. Charles was anxious to gain the support of the patriots in the island in order to offset the alliance of the parliamentarians with the Scots. He entered into negotiations with the Irish leaders and secretly promised redress of some of their grievances. But he lacked the courage publicly to stand by his friends for fear of losing the support of his Protestant followers.

At first the Irish patriots won a number of brilliant victories over the parliamentarian armies, but soon dissensions brought disaster to their ranks. Their evil genius was *Ormond*, a Protestant Irish gentleman, whom the king had named his representative in the island. By endeavoring to procure *political advantages* exclusively for his friends and relatives, he sowed discord between the leaders, and with that defeat overtook their brave soldiers. By this time the king's cause in England began to look hopeless. Now he regretted his half-hearted compliance with Irish demands. But it was too late. A new treaty between Charles and his Irish supporters had just been concluded, when the news of the execution of the king shattered the hopes of Ireland. Parliament now sent the formidable Cromwell to "pacify" the island. *It was to be the peace of the grave.*

450. Cromwell in Ireland. — In August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Dublin with a well-supplied army of his veterans. He first laid siege to *Drogheda* in the north, stormed the town, and put the garrison to the sword, though quarter had been promised. Nor were defenseless women and children spared. This bloody deed struck terror into many hearts, and a number of towns at

once surrendered. At *Wexford* and other fortified places the scenes of Drogheda were reënacted. After Cromwell's recall others finished the conquest with equal barbarism. *Plagues and famine* added to the misery of the unhappy island. Out of a million and a half 600,000 are said to have perished. Later the parliament ordered the *inhabitants of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster to leave their homes and move across the Shannon into Connaught,* where the land had been laid waste. The evacuated land was given to Cromwell's veterans and other English Protestant settlers. Many of the unfortunate victims died of starvation, others were sold as slaves to the West Indies, while large numbers went into exile or enlisted in the armies of France and Spain. The barbarism of Cromwell and his successors left behind it a legacy of bitterness which has never been forgotten. (See § 392.)

451. Cromwell had been recalled from Ireland because of the threatening attitude of the Scots. They were angry at the overthrow of Presbyterianism as the sole religion of England, and bitterly resented the execution of Charles, who was also their sovereign. The son of the late king was proclaimed ruler of Scotland as Charles II, and upon his landing in Scotland he accepted the Presbyterian system. At the head of a Scotch army he invaded England to recover the throne of his father. But Cromwell completely routed the Royalists at *Worcester,* the last battle of the civil war. The young prince escaped in disguise and after many romantic adventures landed safely on the Continent.

452. In 1652 a naval war with Holland broke out. — The parliament had proclaimed the famous *Navigation Act,* the first of many documents of this kind. It was the outcome of *trade rivalry* between the two countries, for the young Dutch republic had built up a considerable carrying trade. According to this Act foreign goods could be brought to England only in English ships or in ships of the country that produced the goods. After

a series of naval engagements the Dutch had to submit to the restriction on their commerce. A trade war with Spain was less successful and drove Cromwell into an alliance with France.

453. The Protectorate, 1654–1660. — In the Agreement of the People (§ 448) it was provided that the Rump should be dissolved in April, 1649. The war with Ireland and Scotland prevented this, but in 1651, after the battle of Worcester, Cromwell demanded that this clause should be carried out, and a new parliament elected. The Rump realized that the elections would certainly return a hostile majority and proposed that *only those seats which had become vacant by Pride's Purge* (§ 446) and other expulsions should be filled up. The present members were to continue without reëlection and were to form a committee with power to exclude any of the new members whose loyalty to the existing government was suspected. This roused fierce resentment in the army, and Cromwell resolved to take radical measures. He appeared in the House with a body of musketeers, ordered the soldiers to eject the Speaker from the chair, and drove the members out of the hall. Thus ended the Long Parliament after an existence of twelve years (April 20, 1653).

Shortly after this a convention of 140 persons was summoned and intrusted with the task of giving England a new constitution. But it consisted largely of unpractical fanatics, and accomplished nothing. One morning a minority, taking advantage of the absence of their opponents, resigned all power into the hands of Cromwell. He in turn announced that he would rule in accordance with the "Instrument of Government," a new scheme approved by the army which virtually united all power in one office, that of *Lord Protector*. That office was of course reserved to Cromwell. He now became practically a *dictator*, being more independent of the will of the nation than Charles ever had been. Several experiments with parliaments were made, but these parliaments, though "purified" by various

means, would not work in harmony with the Protector. The real difficulty was that neither side dared to appeal to the nation, because the majority of the nation was opposed to the republic and its schemes. The Independents, who alone were represented in parliaments of that period, formed only a small section of the nation. Cromwell would have wished to rule with the approval of the people if the people had accepted his views. As it was, the power which he wielded was won by the sword and could be maintained only by the sword. Fortunately for Cromwell, death released him in 1658 from a position which became every day more difficult. He was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary gifts, but a peculiar combination of pharisaical righteousness with unbounded selfishness makes him one of the most repulsive characters in English history. Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as Lord Protector, but resigned after eight months. Anarchy reigned for a while, *then the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II* (1660).

For Further Reading. — Besides the works mentioned in the previous chapter consult Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*, on Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. F. Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland* is a carefully documented narrative. Guggenberger, Vol. II, §§ 487–544, covers this period adequately.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

A. England under the Last Two Stuarts

454. Charles II had been restored by a coalition of Royalists and Presbyterians, for every one preferred him to a government by soldiers. Before his arrival he sent a declaration to parliament promising extensive pardon for the past, assent to any acts of parliament touching upon the question of confiscated estates of Royalists, and toleration to all religions which would not disturb the public peace. The members welcomed this declaration and passed several acts on these points. But it proved impossible to solve the religious question to the satisfaction of all parties, and the king dissolved his first parliament.

455. Charles II was an indolent and extravagant monarch. He and his court indulged in a continuous round of pleasures and the country largely followed the example set by the higher circles. There is hardly a period in English history where the moral laws were so openly flouted in life as well as in literature. It was as if men wished to indemnify themselves for the restraint put upon them by the somber Puritan régime. In politics Charles II was just as desirous as his father to be independent of parliament. But, unlike Charles I, he took care not to arouse the nation against himself. As he put it, he had no wish "to go on his travels again."

456. Domestic Policy. — Charles' first parliament had been a moderate body, but his second one was made up almost entirely of Cavaliers and ultra-royalists. The king knew that he could never get another so much to his mind; so he shrewdly

kept it during most of his reign, — till 1679. In the religious question this parliament was episcopalian without compromise. Previous attempts to bring about some understanding with the Presbyterians were at once given up. A number of acts struck severe blows at the Puritans and all the other "*Dissenters*," as all Protestant bodies outside of the Established Church were called. They are of great importance for the understanding of future developments in English history. By the *Corporation Act* every office-holder in an incorporated town was bound to receive communion in the Established Church. The *Act of Uniformity* obliged every clergyman and every schoolmaster to declare his assent to all that was contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Any minister who was not ordained by a bishop of the Church of England had to receive ordination within three months. Two thousand ministers who had accepted office during the Puritan régime were ejected from their holdings. Charles II was not in sympathy with these harsh proceedings. He would have preferred to extend toleration and to make it wide enough to include even Catholics, for in spite of his dissolute habits he was secretly inclined towards Catholicism. The Catholics had stood loyally by his father, and Catholic princes had befriended him during his exile. He therefore asked parliament for power to dispense with the penalties of the Act of Uniformity. But that request aroused the suspicions of the members who divined the king's intention, and they passed the *Conventicle Act* which forbade religious meetings in private houses (1664).

The king, however, did not at once give up hope of securing toleration for Catholics and Dissenters. In 1668 his brother *James, Duke of York*, was converted to the Catholic Church, and Charles entertained similar thoughts. In fact, in a secret treaty with Louis XIV of France he agreed to declare himself a Catholic "when it was safe to do so." In order to prepare the way he issued the *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending all

penal laws regarding Catholics and Dissenters. But parliament forced him to withdraw the declaration and followed up its victory by passing the *Test Act*. This measure was aimed directly at the Catholics. It ordered that every office-holder must declare on oath his disbelief in the Transubstantiation, that is, in the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Catholics, of course, could never take such an oath while the Dissenters were perfectly willing to do so. The anti-Catholic bias, strong as it was from the beginning of this reign, received a new impetus through the pretended revelations of a shameless impostor, named *Titus Oates*. He professed to be cognizant of a Catholic plot to overthrow the English government and to institute a general massacre of the Protestants. This " Popish Plot " was a vile fabrication, as it is now generally admitted, but at that time it cost the life of a large number of innocent victims. The *foreign policy* of the king was another source of the ever increasing fanaticism of the nation. Louis XIV of France roused the indignation of the English by his constant aggressions on the Continent. They identified, though without reason, the Catholic Church and French interests. And they knew that among the *allies* of the French monarch none was more faithful than *their own king*.

457. Foreign Policy. — The chief reason for Charles' constant support of France was the rich subsidies granted to him by Louis XIV, which enabled him to maintain his extravagant court without recourse to parliament. This alliance entangled Charles in several continental wars, of which we shall have to speak later (§ 479).

The old *war with Holland*, begun under Cromwell (§ 452), was renewed under Charles II, who was earnestly desirous of increasing English commerce and English colonial possessions. The two nations were nearly evenly matched at sea, but in 1664 the English seized some of the Dutch West Indian islands and also their colony on *Manhattan Island, which was renamed New York*

in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. Three years later a treaty was signed by England and Holland which confirmed these conquests.

458. Real political parties first appeared toward the close of Charles' reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic and suspected of planning the restoration of Catholicism in England. The more radical members of parliament introduced a bill to exclude James from the throne; their supporters throughout the country sent up petitions urging the passage of the bill. The royal party presented counter-petitions expressing their abhorrence of a change in the succession. These "Abhorrers" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the fanatical Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs called their opponents *Tories* (bog-trotters), a contemptuous term applied to the Irish supporters of the royalist cause in the Civil War.

The bill failed; but the rough division into parties remained. It was a long time before there was any regular organization or precise platform; but, in general, the *Whigs believed in the supremacy of parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories sustained the royal authority* and wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people.

459. Charles II died in 1685, having on his death bed the assistance of a Catholic priest. His brother succeeded him as **James II (1685–1688).** Although superior to Charles in courage and energy, he was decidedly his inferior in prudence and statesmanship. He lacked insight into character and was unable to gauge the trend of public opinion. It was truly said of him that whereas Charles could see things if he would, James would see things if he could. Being a Catholic, he tried above all to secure to his fellow Catholics religious liberty and complete equality with their Protestant countrymen. *But in this he*

proceeded with undue haste. At first he tried to obtain from parliament the repeal of the Test Act (§ 456), but a small majority voted against him. Instead of patiently waiting for a more favorable opportunity, he at once invoked the royal *Dispensing Power,* that is, he claimed the right to exempt individual Catholics from the penalties of the law. An obsequious court of judges declared that the king really possessed such power, and the latter at once proceeded to appoint several Catholics to high offices. This only heightened the general suspicion of James' intentions. At the same time Louis XIV, the old ally of the Stuarts, had taken very severe measures against the Huguenots in France, and the arrival of fugitives from that country aroused universal indignation. Then came the climax. James issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* (§ 456), granting almost complete religious liberty to Catholics and Dissenters. Moreover, he forced the Anglican bishops to have the Declaration read in their churches. Several refused and were thrown into prison.

B. The Revolution of 1688

460. While the case of the bishops was being tried, an event happened which brought about the crisis. A son was born to James by his *second wife,* the Catholic princess *Mary of Modena.* Until now the hopes of the Protestant leaders had centered on the princess *Mary,* a daughter of James by his first wife. She was a Protestant and had married *William III, the stadtholder of Holland* and a descendant of William the Silent (§ 401). The enemies of James spread the rumor that the child was really not the son of the king but had been smuggled into the palace to deprive Mary of her right of succession. A number of influential leaders secretly invited William of Orange. He landed with a small force. James found himself deserted by all, even by those whom he thought most loyal. He was made prisoner, but soon after was allowed to escape to France (1688).

The story of the Revolution is not a noble one. Selfishness, treachery, and deceit marked every step. The term "*glorious*," which English historians generally have applied to it, must be taken to refer to results rather than to methods.

A convention parliament was summoned which declared the throne vacant. The crown was offered to *William and Mary jointly*, that is, if either survived the other, he or she was to be ruler of England. Parliament, then, drew up a *Bill of Rights* which laid down certain fundamental principles. It was accepted by William and Mary, whereupon they were proclaimed king and queen. The Bill of Rights contained the following points:

(1) It is illegal to suspend, or dispense with, the execution of laws by royal authority, "as it has been assumed and exercised lately," or to erect courts and levy money without consent of parliament.

(2) Protestant subjects have a right to carry arms; parliamentary elections ought to be free; parliament should be summoned frequently for the redress of grievances.

(3) On the death of William and Mary the crown was to go to their children, or in default of issue, to Anne and her children (see table); if these failed, it was to devolve upon any children of William, should he survive Mary and marry a second time. Any person who was a Catholic, or married to a Catholic, should be incapable of wearing the English crown.

A few years later (1701) an *Act of Settlement* declared the *granddaughter of James I, Sophia of Hanover*, and her children, heirs to the crown. In virtue of this law it passed to George I (1714) and to each English sovereign since.[1]

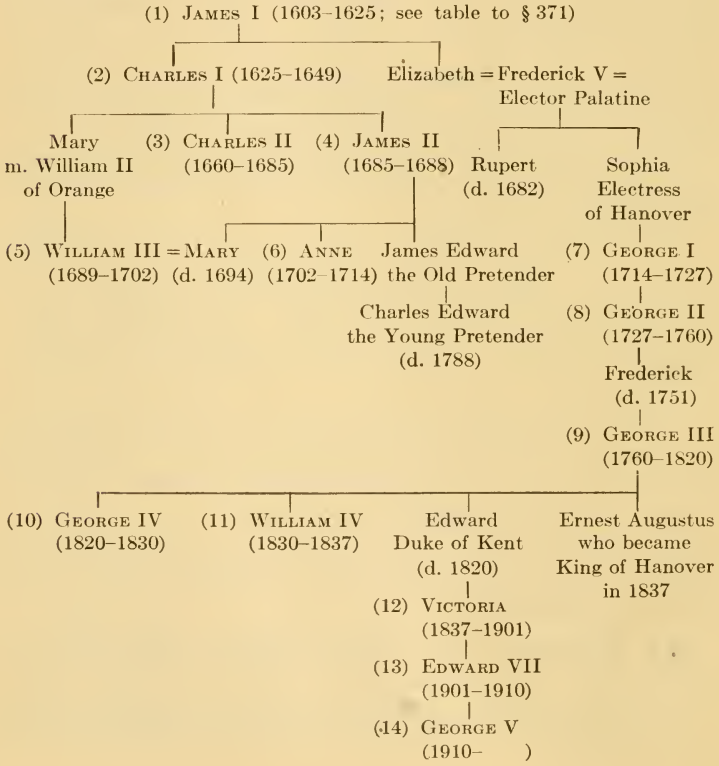
To understand the results of the revolution at the close of the seventeenth century, we must carry the political story in part into the eighteenth.

461. Beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War." — William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent, under

[1] The table on following page shows the relationship of the Hanoverians to the Stuarts.

whom Holland had won its independence from Spain (§ 401). He ranks among England's most gifted kings. But being a foreigner, he was unpopular; and his reign (1688–1702) was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While only stadtholder of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis' schemes; and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne.

This formed the beginning of a series of wars between France


(1) James I (1603–1625; see table to § 371)
(2) Charles I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth = Frederick V = Elector Palatine
Mary m. William II of Orange
(3) Charles II (1660–1685)
(4) James II (1685–1688)
Rupert (d. 1682)
Sophia Electress of Hanover
(5) William III = Mary (1689–1702) (d. 1694)
(6) Anne (1702–1714)
James Edward the Old Pretender
(7) George I (1714–1727)
Charles Edward the Young Pretender (d. 1788)
(8) George II (1727–1760)
Frederick (d. 1751)
(9) George III (1760–1820)
(10) George IV (1820–1830)
(11) William IV (1830–1837)
Edward Duke of Kent (d. 1820)
Ernest Augustus who became King of Hanover in 1837
(12) Victoria (1837–1901)
(13) Edward VII (1901–1910)
(14) George V (1910–)

and England. With slight intervals of peace, *the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815*, the downfall of Napoleon. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and progress at home. During the next century and a quarter there were great changes in England, especially in farming and manufactures, but they were changes made by the *people;* the *government* had nothing to do with them. These changes will be studied in a later chapter.

462. Just in the earlier years, however, some remarkable reforms were made by parliament, both in politics and religion. They properly form a part of the "Glorious Revolution." The religious reforms were embodied in the *Act of Toleration of 1689.* The Dissenters had united with the Anglicans to bring about the overthrow of the Catholic James II; and William, who as a Dutch Calvinist had no special sympathies for the English State Church, insisted that parliament should grant the Dissenters freedom of worship. This was done.

The law, however, did not apply to Catholics. They remained excluded under severe penalties from all right to worship in their own way, and from the right to hold office or to attend the universities. The two latter prohibitions applied also to the Dissenters. Still, for a country like England to permit by law the public exercise of more than one form of religion was a great step forward.

463. The chief gains in political liberty, connected with the "Glorious Revolution," come under four heads:

(1) The Stuart and Tudor kings had frequently interfered shamelessly with the independence of the courts. Now *judges were made removable only by parliament,* not by the king.

(2) A *Triennial Bill* ordered that a new parliament should be elected at least *once in three years.* This put an end to such abuses as the long life of the Cavalier Parliament (§ 456). In 1716 the term was changed to seven years. A parliament

may dissolve itself sooner than this, but it cannot last longer.

(3) Parliament hit upon a simple device which, indirectly, has put an end to the old way in which kings abused their power of dissolving parliament. After the Revolution parliament determined to pass "*revenue bills*" (furnishing money for government expenses) *only for a year at a time*, though the personal income of the king (civil list) was still granted for life. This secured the Commons a strong hold on the crown and the ministry, and rendered necessary the annual summons of parliament. In like fashion, the *Mutiny Act*, by which the army was legalized and placed under the jurisdiction of courts-martial, was henceforth *passed only for short periods*, thus providing another means of parliamentary control over the administration. Without the frequent passing of the Mutiny Act the army would legally cease to exist.

(4) The great problem of parliamentary government was to control the "king's ministers" and to make them really ministers of parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such an action could be secured only by a serious struggle and against notorious offenders. *What was wanted was a way of easily and regularly securing ministers acceptable to parliament.* The story of this change — a whole peaceful revolution — deserves a section to itself.

464. This desired "Cabinet Government" was secured indirectly through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried to get *support from both parties*, the Whigs and the Tories, by keeping the leaders of both among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which parliament felt towards his measures, especially towards his foreign policy. Sometimes, too, there were dangerous deadlocks between king and parliament at critical times.

Then a shrewd political schemer (Sunderland) suggested to

the king that he should choose *all his advisers and assistants from the Whigs*, who had the majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support the proposals of the ministers instead of blocking them. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by filling his cabinet with leading Tories. This was the beginning of ministerial government, or cabinet government.

465. William, however, was a strong ruler. — He was not a tyrant, but he believed in a king's authority, and he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers — the "king's ministers" — in line with his policy. He died in 1702. As Mary had preceded him in death the crown passed to her younger sister, *Anne*, a woman of commonplace character and ability. Struggles between the Whigs and Tories filled her reign. Like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children, hence she was succeeded by the German *George I*, who was already Elector of Hanover (see table on page 466).

Neither George I nor his son George II exercised much influence on English affairs. They were interested in their German principality rather than in England and spent much of their time on the Continent. They did not even attend cabinet meetings. As a result this body became more and more *the real heart and soul of the English government.* During the reign of the first two Georges (1714–1760) the management of affairs was left to the ministers. For nearly half that time the leading man in the cabinet was *Sir Robert Walpole*, a Whig. He selected the other ministers, and put before parliament his own plans in the king's name. He is properly called "the first Prime Minister." Thus the reign of these two foreigners, George I and George II, gave a great impetus to true cabinet government. The "king's ministers" were fairly on the way to become the "ministers of parliament."

Unhappily, parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole sought earnestly, and on the whole wisely, to advance the material prosperity of England, and especially to build up her trade. Accordingly he clung tenaciously to a policy of peace. But he ruled largely by unblushing corruption. "Every man has his price," was one of his political maxims, and he certainly found it possible to buy members of parliament with gifts of lucrative offices — oftentimes offices with no duties attached to them. During his rule it was not the parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority. The same method, used only a little less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed parliament, and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.

466. The position of the Catholics was not improved by the revolution of 1688. They naturally gave their support to the Stuart kings, especially to James II, from whom they expected great relief. All their hopes were dashed to the ground by the accession of William III. William was personally not inclined to religious persecution, but popular feeling, which saw in the Catholics the secret allies of the exiled James, ran so high that a policy of toleration was well-nigh impossible. They were excluded from all rights granted to Dissenters, debarred from higher education and public offices, in fact from nearly all social intercourse with others of the same class. Priests of course were prohibited from the exercise of their office, and spies who secured the conviction of a priest reaped a rich reward. The persecution continued during Anne's reign. Under the Georges it gradually abated, but to the end of the eighteenth century the lot of the Catholics was that of despised outcasts.

467. The fate of the Irish Catholics was even worse. They, too, had enjoyed a period of relative tranquillity under the last two Stuarts. James especially made sincere attempts to procure redress for some Irish grievances. No wonder then that

Ireland supported the cause of the exiled king. In 1689 he landed on the Irish coast with a French force given to him by Louis XIV. The Irish welcomed him enthusiastically, but after the landing of an English army under William, James' hopes sank. William won a decisive victory on the *river Boyne* (1690) and James at once returned to France. The Irish continued the contest for a while with varying success. The peace treaty of *Limerick* (October, 1691) granted the country favorable terms, but was soon after shamefully violated.

Then followed the darkest century in Irish history. A *code of Penal Laws* was built up which reduced the unhappy isle to the most degrading servitude. All bishops and religious were exiled. The rest of the priests were required to take an oath of allegiance to which their conscience objected, and in case of refusal were banished. The Irish Catholic was excluded from the Irish parliament, — from the army, from every government office high and low. He could not bequeath his estate to any one, or buy or inherit land. He had no access to any educational institution nor could he establish schools of his own. Every conceivable inducement was held out to those who would abandon their faith, yet to the everlasting glory of the Irish race the vast majority of the nation remained unshaken in their loyal attachment to the religion of their fathers.

468. Meantime "England" was becoming "Great Britain." James I (1603) joined Scotland and England under one crown (§ 425). A century later (1707) this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by the "*Act of Union*," adopted by the parliaments of both countries. Scotland *gave up her separate legislature* and became part of the "United Kingdom" with the right to send members to the English parliament and to keep her established Presbyterian church. The *Union Jack*, combining the cross of St. Andrew, the emblem of Scotland, with that of St. George, the standard of England, was adopted as the flag of Great Britain. Ireland, too, as we have seen, came under

the complete control of England. And the same seventeenth century which witnessed the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell saw another and vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.

For Further Reading. — See Guggenberger, Vol. II, § 545 ff. It is desirable that the student should continue either Lingard-Birt or Wyatt-Davies. For a more extended treatment of religious matters see MacCaffrey, *From the Renaissance to the Revolution*, Vol. II, Chapters X and XI. For a brief summary of the Penal Laws see Guggenberger, Vol. III, §§ 9–14. Card. Moran's *The Catholics in Ireland under the Penal Laws* is perhaps the best account.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

A. Beginnings: Spain and Portugal

469. Discoveries. — We have studied several great phases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the century of religious wars on the Continent, and, in England, the Puritan movement and the rise of political liberty. One other movement of those centuries, quite as important as any of these, is yet to be surveyed. *This is the expansion of Europe into New Worlds.*

The *beginnings* we noted (§ 344). Europe's growing commerce with the Orient was threatened in the fifteenth century by the Turks. To get into the rear of these barbarians, Europe, astir with the new life of the Renaissance, sought new routes to Asia. *Portugal* found one to the south around Africa. *Columbus* with the aid of Spain tried a still bolder western route and stumbled on America in his path.

470. These discoveries marked the end of the fifteenth century. — Portugal quickly built an empire in the Indian Ocean and the " Spice Islands " of the western Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise the *sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.* The story of her conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, though at times marred by deeds of oppression and cruelty. Spain did not attempt settlement on the mainland until twenty years after the discovery; but once this was begun her handful of explorers and soldiers sped swiftly north and south; and by 1550 she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), Central America, Mexico far up the Pacific coast, and the

Floridas. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea were Spanish lakes, and even the Pacific was a "closed sea."

Spain was planning to extend her empire still farther north, when in 1588 her sea power received a fatal blow at the hands of the English in the ruin of her Invincible Armada (§ 404).

After Spain and Portugal the other seaboard countries of Europe tried their fortunes in America. But *Holland* in her half-century of rebellion against Spain turned her chief energies to seizing Portugal's old empire in the Orient, which had now become Spain's (§ 402, note). The *Swedish* colonies on the Delaware were never formidable to the claims of other nations, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus (§ 410). *And so North America was left to France and England.*

B. France in America

471. The Story of French Colonization. — After a quarter-century of exploration Champlain founded the first permanent colony at Quebec in 1608. Explorers, traders, and missionaries soon traversed the Great Lakes and established stations at various points still known by their French names. Towards the close of the century (1682), after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up French claims to the entire valley. After that New France consisted of a colony on the St. Lawrence in the far north and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

At home French statesmen aimed deliberately at building a French colonial empire in America. The same inspiring thought animated the French explorers, — splendid patriots like Champlain, Joliet, Ribault, and La Salle. France, too, sent forth the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. The names of Lallemant, Brébeuf, Jogues, Marquette, are among the most brilliant in the history of the Catholic missions. Mission-

ary zeal played a much greater part in French and Spanish than in English colonization. The English Puritans, stiff and narrow-minded, preferred to despoil and exterminate the Indian rather than to uplift and convert him.

472. Weak Points in French Colonization. — But though the French colonies were strong in leaders, they were weak in certain vital matters that depended on the mass of the colonists. *They lacked homes, individual enterprise, and political life.*

New France was not a country of homes or of agriculture. The territory occupied was too enormous and the settlers too few to make New France really French in character. In all the settlements the number of French was never more than one tenth of the population that occupied the English colonies. Moreover, if we except a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring their families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these adventurous Frenchmen preferred to be trappers, hunters, or explorers, and adopted Indian habits. The French government sought in vain to remedy this by sending over women of marriageable age and by offering bonuses for early marriages and large families. The Huguenots, who were often skillful artisans and good farmers, were forced to settle on other soil, for Louis XIV would not have that religious division in his colonies which he strove to eradicate at home.

Government paternalism smothered private enterprise in industry. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by unwise restrictions and hampered almost as much by unwise encouragements. The rulers did everything. Colonial governors asked for "money to build storehouses," for "a teacher to make sailors," for surgeons, and at various times, for brickmakers, ironworkers, and pilots.

New France usually got the help she asked; but she did not learn to do without it.

Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism (§ 477), and her rulers looked at the colonies as a mere expansion of France, to be governed and taxed and protected by the king. Though the officials of the French colonies were for the most part honest and able men, they were not the choice of the colonists, but the appointees of the crown. The civil law in force was that of the mother country, scarcely modified to meet different conditions. Hence the minute regulations as to public meetings, precedence of officials on public occasions, the number of cattle a man might own, which formed part of the administrative system of France, applied equally to the colonies. It is true that the colonies for the most part were satisfied with this arrangement. But when the larger policies of the home government suggested the abandonment of the colonies, they themselves fell an easy prey to their more self-reliant neighbors.

C. England in America

473. Colonizing Forces and Progress to 1690. — *Very different was the fringe of English colonies* that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half over, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. *Out of that rivalry America was born* — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual and adventurous patriots. Reckless free-booters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves and injury to the foe by raiding the far-flung realms of New Spain. More farsighted statesmen, like Raleigh, saw that English colonies in America would be "a great Bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine," and began attempts so to

" put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth." But contrary to their expectations, the American colonies hardly participated in the struggle of their mother country with Spain. Instead, they became the battle ground in the strife with another of England's rivals — France.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh, in Elizabeth's reign, made the first attempts at colonization in Newfoundland and Virginia. They proved, however, failures, chiefly because the English lacked experience, and indulged in vain hopes of finding gold and treasure instead of turning at once to agriculture. The mother country, moreover, took little interest in these schemes at a time when all England watched with breathless attention the outcome of the struggle with Spain's Armada (§ 404).

Things took a different turn after the death of Elizabeth and the downfall of Spanish sea power. The efforts at colonization under James I were organized and therefore more successful. A company — the Virginia Company — was formed with two branches, the London and the Plymouth branch, one colonizing the south, the other the north. In spite of many setbacks these colonial efforts led to permanent results and laid the foundation of America.

What class of people were the founders of our colonies? England's population during the long period of peace following the Wars of the Roses (§ 299) had increased rapidly, amounting in James I's time to about four million souls. This figure is of course far below the present, yet under the industrial system of that time England needed an outlet for this " crowded " population. We have seen (§ 415) how sheep-raising had turned much of England's farmland into pasture land, and how consequently the economic situation of the peasant had become much worse. Many of these peasants now went to the new settlements beyond the sea and furnished them with the most valuable manual labor. But capital and capitalists were needed too, and soon came forward. Conditions in England after the death of

Elizabeth turned some of the wealthier classes towards American adventure. Until James I made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of the gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (§ 402) against the Spaniards, or became adventurers and freebooters, who under Drake and others preyed upon the Spanish trade on the high seas. Peace left them without congenial occupation at home, and many of them turned to America in quest of new adventure. At first they proved a restless element, but experience gradually taught them the real needs of frontier life, and they became excellent colonists.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign Puritanism was added to these forces, and before the Long Parliament met (1640) there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic coast in New England. Another element constituting American colonial society were the *Indentured Servants*. They were convicts from overcrowded English prisons sold to American planters and bound to serve for a term of years after which they were set free. Besides, during Cromwell's rule, many shiploads of exiled *Irish Catholics* were sold into the American service. Thus the honored and the persecuted, the good and the refuse of England, contributed toward the population of Colonial America.

At the time of the " Glorious Revolution " (1688) the northern and southern groups of settlements had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies reaching from Maine to Georgia, with a population of a quarter of a million.

474. Freedom. — *The colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law*, with its trial by jury, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties; and almost as soon as founded they developed also a large degree of political liberty. *They all possessed their own representative assemblies elected by the people* and taking an important share in lawmaking. These assemblies were all modeled

on the English parliament. Moreover, not all England, but only the more democratic part of English life was transferred to America. No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop of the Established Church ever made part of colonial America. But that part of English society which did come *was drawn towards still greater democracy by the presence of unlimited free land.* This abundance of free land made it relatively easy for the inferior and dependent classes to make themselves independent and thus to take a share in government equal to that enjoyed by the more fortunate colonists.

But of that great boon of which Americans of the present day are justly proud — *religious liberty* — there was very little in those colonial days. More than one sect, strong in the possession of civil power, bore down heavily upon those of another belief. The colonies, with some exceptions, were the seats of fierce religious fanaticism, notably New England and especially Massachusetts. Catholics were either proscribed or barely tolerated, loaded with heavy taxes, and in not a single colony were they in full enjoyment of those personal and civil liberties mentioned above. Relief came to them only with the independence of the colonies, when on the battle field they won the esteem of their fellow citizens by their patriotism and bravery.

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars. The conflict in Europe between William III of England and Louis XIV of France became a hundred years' conflict (1690–1815) *for empire in America and Asia.*

For Further Reading. — See general works mentioned above. The student may read with profit Seeley's *Expansion of England.* Much information on New France may be gathered from F. Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America.*

PART III. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

CHAPTER XXX

FRENCH LEADERSHIP

A. Character of the Period

475. Absolutism. — The period of Continental history between the Peace of Westphalia and the French Revolution (1648–1789) contains very little that is worthy of our admiration. *It is the age of full-grown princely absolutism.* The ruler recognizes no power independent of himself. The royal will is supreme and without constitutional checks. There had been similar tendencies in the English monarchs, as we have seen, but the victory of parliament had prevented their further growth. On the Continent parliamentary institutions had never taken such a firm hold on the nations. In medieval times there were other institutions which effectually restrained the lust of power. *A semi-independent nobility* often forced its will on a reluctant monarch. But feudal society by this time had almost disappeared. True, nobles still existed in large numbers, but their sovereignty over particular territories had in many cases been reduced to a mere title. This was especially true of France.

The power of the Church, in particular of the pope, had been another excellent check upon royal absolutism. Many a haughty monarch was brought to his knees by the powerful weapon of excommunication or deposition (§ 362). But in the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century many rulers renounced the authority of the Holy See. The Reformers, though they ap-

pealed to private judgment in religious matters, were only too anxious to invoke the assistance of the state in order to force their views upon others. Thus they increased the sense of independence in the princes. The Catholic rulers had little sympathy with the doctrines of Protestantism, but they did not fail to realize how greater independence from the pope and the Church would augment their own importance. Hence we see in this period everywhere attempts to hedge in the freedom of the spiritual power, and, especially, to control the appointments to higher ecclesiastical offices. The clergy thus appointed were in most cases respectable men, but they frequently lacked zeal and courage in defending the rights of the Church.

476. "Balance of Power." — In the conduct of public affairs this period was remarkable for the unscrupulous pursuit of self-aggrandizement and of military glory. The true welfare of the people was often completely forgotten. The motives of nearly all wars were jealousy of the rising power of a neighbor, mutual distrust, which saw in the growth of another state sufficient reason to rob some other weaker state. *It became the chief object of statesmen to keep any one country from growing too strong for its neighbor's* safety. This was called maintaining the "*balance of power.*"

During most of this long period the stage is held by one or another of three gifted rulers, Louis XIV of France (1643–1715), Peter the Great of Russia (1689–1725), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786). The main influence of Peter the Great was spent directly upon his own country; but Louis and Frederick belong to all Europe, and the period is covered by the Age of Louis XIV and the Age of Frederick II.

B. Wars of Louis XIV

477. In France the talented and masterful Richelieu (§ 408) crushed the power of the nobility and made them practically mere officers of the crown. The provincial assemblies, with a

few exceptions, were gradually abolished, and the National Assembly (the Estates General, § 195) never met after 1614 until the Revolution (1789). Richelieu passed away in 1642, almost at the same time as his sovereign Louis XIII. During the minority of Louis XIV (1643–1661) Cardinal Mazarin guided the ship of state. He succeeded in securing to France very favorable terms in the Peace of Westphalia (§ 412). At home he suppressed the last dangerous rising of the nobles. At his death Louis declared that henceforth he would be his own prime minister.

478. In the beginning it seemed as if the reign of the energetic young king was to be prosperous and peaceful. With the assistance of his able minister Colbert he adopted wise financial measures, encouraged manufactures and commerce, and zealously watched over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 he began a series of wars that filled most of the remaining forty years of his reign. These wars produced several of the greatest French generals, among them *Turenne*, *Condé*, and *Vauban*, the foremost military engineer of his time. — In the first twelve years of war Louis sought extension on his *northern* frontier, while in a second series of wars, begun in 1689, he aimed at conquests on his *eastern* and *southern* boundaries.

479. In 1667 Louis XIV, on a flimsy pretext and without any declaration of war, **invaded the Spanish Netherlands.** It will be remembered that this rich territory had become separated from the northern Dutch provinces as a result of the rebellion of the Netherlands against Philip II (§ 402) and had remained under the sovereignty of Spain. At first the French encountered little resistance. But then the Dutch to the north became alarmed at the prospect of getting the aggressive Louis as neighbor. Accordingly, they concluded an alliance with England and Sweden against France. Louis thought it wiser to show moderation and to be satisfied, for the moment, with a fringe of Spanish fortresses just across his own northern bound-

ary. But he was determined to have his revenge upon the Dutch for having thwarted him. By skillful diplomacy he first isolated them from their allies and then attacked them with his whole might. He easily overran the greater part of the country, but when he approached the capital, Amsterdam, the heroic Hollanders cut the dikes, and the North Sea drove back the French armies. Meanwhile the little commonwealth intrusted the government to William of Orange (who afterward became William III of England, see § 462). While the doughty Dutch sailors under Admiral de Ruyter held off the French fleet, William succeeded in gaining allies. Emperor Leopold I, Spain, and others made common cause with William against the common danger. For several years the fearful struggle was waged on land and sea, along the Rhine, in Holland, in the Mediterranean, and in the New World. Exhaustion compelled peace. The Dutch Republic remained intact, but Louis won from Spain the Free County of Burgundy.

480. During the ten years of peace that followed Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine, especially the important free city of *Strassburg* and other *portions of Alsace* which had not been ceded in the Peace of Westphalia. The emperor was unable to do more than protest against these encroachments, for he was fully occupied with the Turks who had just laid siege to Vienna (§ 502).

Another important event of this period was Louis' treatment of the Huguenots. Richelieu had broken their political power (§ 408) but otherwise left them alone. Louis determined to go further. In 1685 *he revoked the Edict of Nantes* (§ 407), closed the Calvinistic churches and banished their preachers. Laymen were forbidden to leave the country, but prohibited from any public exercise of their religion. Nevertheless, large numbers of Huguenots found their way into Holland, Prussia, England, and America. This measure, deemed by some inexpedient, was prompted by the memories of their former fanatical

attacks upon Church and State and the universal aversion against them. But it deprived France of many thrifty and skillful citizens and profoundly stirred Protestant Europe. In Germany it put a stop to a widespread movement for reunion with the Catholic Church, in Holland it led to retaliation against the Catholics, and in England it filled the nation with suspicion against its Catholic king, James II, and his schemes for religious toleration (§ 459).

481. The second series of wars opened with an attack by Louis upon the Palatinate, the rich province of the Empire just north of Alsace. Louis began hostilities by a terrible devastation of the unhappy country. Entire cities with fine cathedrals and historic buildings were destroyed, and brutalities quite equal to those of the Thirty Years' War were heaped upon the innocent inhabitants.

To meet this new aggression, an alliance was formed including the Emperor, William III (now King of England as well as ruler of Holland), Spain, and others. The entrance of England widened the struggle into a *Titanic contest between England and France for world-empire.* In part it was waged in America, where in history it is known as " King William's War." [1] Moreover, the exiled James II thought this a good opportunity for regaining the English crown. But his campaign in Ireland proved an utter failure (§ 467). Louis himself made practically no gains.

482. War of the Spanish Succession. — The French king then sought extension on his southern boundary. The king of Spain, Charles II, was dying. He was childless and brotherless, and all Europe had long been discussing what would become of his vast realms. The student will remember that Charles I (Emperor Charles V) had bestowed upon his Spanish

[1] In 1692 the English in a famous naval battle off La Hogue utterly defeated a French fleet. This victory secured to Great Britain the mastery of the sea which she has held ever since.

heirs the greater part of his dominions, that is, Spain with her many colonies, the Netherlands, and his Italian possessions (§ 367). The question now was: Who will inherit all this? Louis had married one sister of Charles II, Emperor Leopold I another. The former had, however, renounced all claims to Spain, while the latter had explicitly reserved them. As others objected that the union of so large a territory would disturb the balance of power (§ 476), the emperor and the French king had been considering for some time how they might divide the Spanish possessions between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs. When Charles II died, in 1700, however, it was discovered that he left a will which gave the whole inheritance to Louis' younger grandson Philip, but under the condition that France and Spain should never be united.

Louis XIV accepted the will and made it clear that he considered Spain and France as the domain of his own family. But Europe stood united against France and Spain in the "*War of the Spanish Succession.*" William III was the soul of the alliance against France, but he died just as hostilities were beginning. Nevertheless under Queen Anne the war was continued for the next eleven years. Again the scene of the struggle lay partly in America, where it is known as "*Queen Anne's War.*" In Europe the English general Marlborough and the Austrian commander Prince Eugene, for the first time, brought victory to the allies. They won terrible battles over the hitherto invincible armies of France at Blenheim on the Danube, at Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet in the Netherlands.

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) changed the map as few other treaties had done. (1) *Philip* was permitted to retain Spain and her colonies, but he had to renounce all claim to the French throne. (2) *The Austrian Hapsburgs* received the former Spanish possessions in *the Netherlands and in Italy.* The territory thus acquired in Italy, Milan and Naples, gave Austria that hold on the peninsula which she retained until 1866.

(3) *England* received from France *Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region,* and so began the *expulsion of the French from North America.* Besides, she secured from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca.*

C. Conditions in France under Louis XIV

483. Louis dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (Grand Monarque); but we can now see that his aims were mistaken, even from a purely selfish view. For his wars he could not even advance the pretext of strengthening France against powerful and dangerous neighbors, for after 1648 the Empire, as well as Spain, was too weak to think of aggression. Louis fought only to enlarge his borders.

Louis XIV. — After a painting by Rigaud.

In this he was partially successful; but he exhausted France and left the nation burdened with debt through the next century. At the close of his reign the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created. And in his unjust attacks upon his neighbors in Europe he had wasted the strength that might have intrenched France as mistress in Asia and America.

484. Intellectually, however, France under Louis XIV was the acknowledged leader of Europe. — And this continued to be true in the next century. She set the standard in art, literature, taste, and manners. The brilliant center from which all these influences radiated was the royal *court at Versailles*. Louis' palace there, about twelve miles from Paris, with its gardens and outlying buildings, was the most magnificent the West had ever seen, and on its construction the king had spent fabulous sums. The life at the court was on an equally splendid and costly scale. Here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in luxury and idleness at the expense of the people. The old feudal nobles who could afford it were attracted to Versailles, not only by the splendor of the court, but also because it was only by living close to the king that they could hope to win favor and offices. Life at the court, though regulated by the most fastidious etiquette and by exquisite taste, was nevertheless shamefully corrupt. Seldom was vice more gilded and made more attractive by polished manners than in the palace of Louis XIV.

485. Yet the brilliancy of this reign was not due entirely to its gorgeous trappings and extravagance. The liberal gifts of the king attracted men of learning and genius. Their work, in turn, inspired others, and thus the age of Louis XIV became the classical period of French literature. *Corneille* and *Racine* were the greatest French dramatists, while *Molière* in a series of inimitable comedies held up to ridicule the vices and follies of his time. Among the prose-writers the names of *Bossuet* and *Bourdaloue*, the greatest French pulpit orators, and of the pious and gentle *Fénelon* will always be held in the highest esteem.

486. But the reverse of this dazzling picture is sad enough. The luxury and costly wars of Louis reduced the peasantry to a pitiable condition. Fénelon dared to write to the king: "Your people are dying of hunger. The cultivation of the soil

is almost abandoned. The towns and the country decrease in population." Thousands of peasants were reduced to starvation, especially in the terrible winter of 1693–94. No wonder, then, that the tidings of the death of the Great King was received throughout France with an outburst of rejoicing. "The people had shed too many tears during his life to have any left for his death," remarked a satirist of the time. Louis had established political despotism, economic misery, and social inequality. The outcome of all this was the French Revolution, seventy-four years after his death.

For Further Reading. — On Louis XIV see Guggenberger, Vol. II, Book II, chap. 5. Macdonald, *History of France*, Vol. II, pp. 179 ff., may be consulted for the political history of this reign. Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 287 gives the text of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

487. The Russians threw off the Tartar yoke, we have noticed, about 1500 (§ 214). *Ivan the Terrible*, the second ruler after that event, took the title of Tsar (from *Caesar*, the old Roman title for emperors). About 1550, under Ivan, Russia was extended to the Caspian. It now covered a vast area — the great eastern plain of Europe, reaching over into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks shut Russia off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (§ 370); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany.

Church of St. Basil, Moscow, built about 1575 in the reign of Ivan the Terrible. The building was brilliantly painted in all the colors of the rainbow.

Thus the Russians were really Asiatic in geography. They were Asiatic also in manners and thought. They belonged to the Greek church; but they had no other tie with European life.

488. Russia was made a European Power by Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. He admired the material results of western civilization, and he determined to Europeanize his people. As steps toward this, he meant to get the Baltic coast from Sweden, and the Black Sea from the Turks, so as to have "windows to look out upon Europe."

Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world he had admired at a distance. In Holland he studied shipbuilding, as a workman in the navy yards. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

489. Russia Veneered with European Culture. — With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and to come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Russian and Oriental.

490. Peter also started Russia on her march toward the European seas. — On the south, he himself made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, ever since his day, Constantinople has been the goal of Russian ambition in this direction.

The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, "the Glorious Madman of the North."

Sweden was a thinly populated country with no great natural resources. For a century a line of great kings and the disciplined bravery of her soldiery had made her a leading power in Europe; but such leadership could hardly be permanent. She had grown at the expense of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg; and when Charles XII came to the Swedish throne (1697) as a mere boy of fifteen, these states leagued against him.

Peter the Great.

Charles was a military genius, and for a long time he was victorious against this overwhelming coalition. But he wore out his resources in winning victories that did not destroy his huge antagonists. Early in the struggle he defeated Peter the Great at *Narva*, with an army not more than an eighth as large as the Russian force; but while Charles was busied in Poland and Germany, Russia recovered herself, and in 1709 Peter crushed Charles at *Pultava*.

As Peter had foretold, the Swedes had taught him how to beat them. *Sweden never recovered her military supremacy.* Russia secured the Swedish provinces on the east coast of the Baltic as far north as the Gulf of Finland. These districts had been colonized, three centuries before, by the Teutonic Knights (§ 240, § 321), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. Thus the acquisition not only gave Russia a door into Europe, but actually brought part of Europe inside Russia. It was in this new territory that Peter founded St. Petersburg, recently renamed *Petrograd*.

491. The next important acquisition of territory was under the *Empress Elizabeth*, daughter of Peter, who seized most of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under *Catherine II*, Russia made great progress **along the Black Sea** and on the west at the expense of Poland (§ 506). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIA HUNGARY
PRUSSIA
POLAND
RUSSIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Bergen
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
MOSCOW
Volga R.
Culloden
Edinburgh
Dublin
LONDON
Netherlands
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Brussels
Antwerp
Ghent
Calais
Boulogne
Cherbourg
Versailles
PARIS
Quiberon
Loire R.
Orleans
Seine R.
Rhine R.
Aachen
Cologne
Bremen
Hanover
Hamburg
Kiel
Cassel
Frankfort
Mainz
Saxony
DRESDEN
BERLIN
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Stettin
Danzig
Konigsberg
Prussia
Courland
Vilna
Smolensk
Prague
Olmutz
Bohemia
Silesia
Vistula R.
WARSAW
Krakow
Lemberg
Kief
Dnieper R.
Great Britain
Russian 1739
Russian 1774
Russian 1792
Russian 1788
Kherson
Kinburn
Moldavia
Jassy
Wallachia
Bukharest
Danube R.
Sistova
Sofia
Servia
Belgrade
Bosnia
Nissa
Montenegro
Sebastopol
CONSTANTINOPLE
Athens
Morea
CRETE
MALTA (To Eng.)
IONIAN S.
Pesth
BUDA
Presburg
VIENNA
Innsbruck
MUNICH
Brunn
Palatinate
Bavaria
Tyrol
Leibach
Trieste
Venice
Mantua
MILAN
Modena
Genoa
Turin
Piedmont
Savoy
Nice
Marseilles
Toulon
CORSICA To France 1768
Tuscany
Papal States
ROME
NAPLES
1714, Austrian
1735, Spanish
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
1714 to Savoy
1720 to Austria
1735, Spanish
SARDINIA To Savoy 1720
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA (To Eng.) 1708
MAJORCA
Carthagena
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
LISBON
MADRID
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Garonne R.
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Papal
Prussian
Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia)
Spanish Bourbons
Venetian
Turkish
Great Britain
EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXII

PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

A. Prussia before Frederick the Great

492. In a previous chapter we have briefly referred to the beginnings of a new northern state which, later on, was to have a decisive influence on the shaping of events in central Europe. We have seen how the *Electorate of Brandenburg* came into the possession of the *Hohenzollern family* (§ 333), and how a member of another branch of that family, in Luther's time, changed the land of the Teutonic Knights into a secular principality, the "Duchy of Prussia," for himself and his descendants (§ 370). Later it was arranged that, if the line of the Dukes of Prussia should die out, the title and territory was to go to the Brandenburg branch of the Hohenzollern. This actually happened under the Elector John Sigismund in 1618. The same Elector secured also the duchy of Cleves in the extreme west of Germany. Thereafter the Hohenzollern of Brandenburg ruled over three widely separated provinces, — on the *Rhine*, the *Elbe*, and the *Vistula*. Eventually the three parts were united by the annexation of the intermediate lands. But this was not accomplished until 1866.

493. The Great Elector. — Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War Frederick William, the "Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg. He took part in that struggle and as a reward he secured eastern Pomerania, which extended his territory to the Baltic, but, to his great chagrin, western Pomerania with its excellent harbors became Swedish (§ 412). Shortly after he obtained from Poland the recognition of the inde-

pendence of Prussia. Though he was in a measure the creator of the first distinctly Prussian army, his chief services during a long reign were rendered in peace, not in war. He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture, and welcomed the Huguenot fugitives from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Frederick III, son and successor of the Great Elector, in return for aid against Louis XIV, secured the emperor's consent to adopt the title "*King in Prussia*" (1701). This brought no increase in territory and, legally, applied only to territory situated beyond the boundaries of the Empire, but in consequence the name "Prussia" was gradually given to all the Hohenzollern possessions.

The second king in Prussia was a rather narrow-minded and rude "drill sergeant" who devoted his whole energy to the building up and training of an efficient army. His son, Frederick the Great, was to use this army with consummate skill.

B. Frederick the Great, 1740–1786

494. The Silesian War. — In the year that Frederick came to the throne the *Hapsburg emperor Charles VI* died without leaving a male heir. Before his death he had obtained the consent of the states of the Empire and of foreign powers to an arrangement by which he left his hereditary dominions to his daughter *Maria Theresa* (1740–1780). These dominions included Austria proper, Hungary, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the Austrian Netherlands, besides some smaller territories in Italy and elsewhere. The imperial crown of course was not within his gift, but the electors bestowed it later on Maria's husband, after it had been worn for a number of years by a Bavarian prince. As soon as Maria Theresa took possession of her inheritance Frederick of Prussia invaded one of her fairest provinces, *Silesia*. This high-handed act was the signal for a general onslaught on the Hapsburg realms. *France*, *Spain*,

Bavaria and others hurried to snatch away choice morsels. But Maria Theresa displayed unexpected courage and ability. Her subjects, especially the gallant Hungarian nobles, rallied loyally to her support, and, a little later, *England* and *Holland* added their strength to the Austrian side. The war ended in 1748. Austria lost no territory except Silesia, where the Austrians had been unable to resist the well-trained Prussians under the magnificent leadership of Frederick. That monarch had proved himself the best general of the age. Prussia by the acquisition of Silesia now reached down into the heart of Germany and was henceforth the rival of Austria within the Empire.

495. The war had been, as we have seen, a war of hostile alliances. — Thus it came that, although the greatest battles were fought on European soil,[1] the contest outside of Europe was of much greater importance. There it was a renewal of the *struggle for world-empire between England and France.* In America a New England expedition captured the fortress of *Louisburg.* In India the French leader, *Dupleix,* saw a chance to secure an Asiatic empire for his country, and, though greatly hampered by indifference at home, he captured a number of English stations in that country.

The treaty of peace, for a time, restored matters to their former position, both in America and India, but the war made *England and France* feel more clearly than ever before that they were *rivals for vast realms outside of Europe.* Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions relatively insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideals should hold the New Worlds. *The next war of Frederick with Maria Theresa was to bring the answer to these questions.*

[1] The best known of them is the battle of Fontenoy (Belgium), where the impetuous bravery of the Irish exiles won a decisive victory for France. Read Davis' poem "Fontenoy."

C. The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

496. In Europe. — The next eight years were merely a preparation for a renewal of the struggle on a larger scale. Frederick knew that Maria Theresa had not given up all hope of recovering her fair Silesia. Accordingly, he improved the time in developing the resources of his kingdom and in perfecting the organization of his army. Austria did the same. In the meantime hostilities between England and France had never come to a full stop. There, too, both sides foresaw the impending clash, and, naturally, cast about for allies. The English ministry, chiefly in order to protect Hanover on the Continent, concluded an alliance with Frederick, whereby the integrity of that land was guaranteed. Later, when the great English statesman *Pitt* became prime minister, rich subsidies were granted to Frederick and English troops were landed in Hanover. On the other side Kaunitz, the clever adviser of Maria Theresa, negotiated an alliance with Austria's old enemy, France. Thus England and France were again in opposite camps, but had exchanged their allies. *Russia*, whose ruler, Elizabeth, had a personal grudge against Frederick, came to the assistance of Maria Theresa. When *Sweden*, too, became an ally of France, Frederick's little kingdom was hard pressed indeed.

The Prussian king resolved to have the advantage of an offensive, and in 1756 he opened hostilities by an invasion of *Saxony*, one of Austria's allies. Then began what is known in history as the "*Seven Years' War.*" On the Continent fortune at first favored Frederick. In the brilliant victories of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he successively defeated the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and forced all Europe to acknowledge him as one of the greatest generals in history. But the odds against him were overwhelming. His dominions were drained of men, England withdrew her aid, reverses on the

battle field followed. Then a change in Russia came to his aid. Elizabeth died in 1762, and her successor, an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick, changed Russian enmity into friendship. Frederick again gained important successes, and in the following year all belligerents were glad to sign the terms of peace. The treaty changed nothing in the map of Europe; *Silesia remained a Prussian province.* By far more important were the changes abroad.

497. In America. — The Seven Years' War is known in our history as the "*French and Indian War.*" Pitt was working to build up a great British Empire, at the expense of France. Hence he assisted Frederick with funds, while the English navy swept the seas. On American soil the chief feature of the war was the taking of *Quebec* by *Wolfe* and its heroic defense by *Montcalm.* The treaty of peace gave to England the whole of *Canada* (in the north) and *Florida* (in the south). The latter was ceded by *Spain,* which had been an ally of *France.* To compensate Spain for the loss, France made over to her *New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana.* Thus English power and English civilization held sway from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. But it was not to last very long. Twelve years later began the *American War of Independence* which deprived England of the best part of her American colonies. The causes of this war are intimately bound up with the results of the Seven Years' War. England, heavily burdened with debts on account of the war, tried to tax her colonies, and to make them support her soldiery. The colonists, on the other hand, during the struggle in America had become conscious of their own strength and military qualities, and the removal of French power from their northern boundaries made them less anxious for protection from the mother country. However, the secession of the American colonies did not injure England as much as friends and foes expected. The commerce of the United States continued to be

carried on mainly through England, and, very soon, the new nation with its growing wealth was buying more English goods than the old colonies had been able to pay for. For her loss in territory England, to some degree, found compensation in the acquisition of *Australia* (1788).

498. In India. — There, too, the Seven Years' War was merely a continuation of the struggle begun during the Silesian War. Dupleix, the French leader (§ 495), had been recalled by the short-sighted French government. The English, on the other hand, possessed in young *Robert Clive* a man perfectly able to take care of British interests in India. The native prince of Bengal treacherously seized the English port of Calcutta, and packed the 146 Europeans into a small close dungeon, where nearly all suffocated in one night. This crime is known as the "*Black Hole of Calcutta*" (1756). Clive at once organized an expedition which put an end to the independence of Bengal. In other numerous engagements with French as well as native forces he thoroughly established English supremacy over a large part of India, and his successors completed the task. Again the half-hearted support given by the French government to its representatives in India and the frightful corruption of French officials made their colonies easy victims of the resolute English. In the general peace France still maintained some nominal control over her former possessions in India, but under such restrictions that they ceased to have any great value for her. Thus England came out of the Seven Years' War as the real conqueror. Her colonial supremacy and her mastery of the seas was firmly established. *England had become Great Britain.*

499. After 1763 Frederick's kingdom of Prussia enjoyed a long period of much-needed rest. — It must be admitted that the unscrupulous diplomat and aggressive conqueror showed himself in several ways an excellent administrator. The work of the Great Elector was taken up again and carried forward vigorously. Frederick took a lively interest in the develop-

PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
Tauroggen
Memel
Königsberg
PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
EMLAND 1778
RÜGEN
SWEDISH POMERANIA
Lübeck
Wismar
POMERANIA 1648
WEST PRUSSIA 1772
EAST FRIESLAND 1744
Stettin
NETZE 1772
Thorn
Weser
Elbe
Netze
Vistula
Bug
HANOVER
BRANDENBURG
Aller
Berlin
Frankfort
Küstrin
GREAT POLAND
Warsaw
Hanover
Potsdam
Spree
Kunersdorf 1742
Schwelbus
Züllichau
Hastenbeck
Münster
UNITED NETHERLANDS
CLEVES 1624
MARK
Dessau
Kottbus
Glogau
Oder
POLAND
Torgau
Leipzig
Liegnitz 1742
Breslau
LITTLE POLAND
Rossbach
Hennersdorf
Leuthen
Hubertsburg
Dresden
SILESIA
Brieg
Jülich
Cologne
Kesselsdorf
Pirna
Hohenfriedberg
Mollwitz
Sandomierez
Aachen
Maxen
Schweidnitz
Saale
Freiberg
Burkersdorf
Glatz
Neisse
Soht
Kosel
THE EMPIRE
Rhine
Main
Eger
Elbe
Moldau
Jagerndorf
Krakow
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
BAYREUTH
Kolin
Chotusitz
Mainz
Treves
Czaslau
Teschen
GALICIA
FRANCE
BOHEMIA
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

ment of good farming, but still more care he bestowed on the progress of manufacturing. His policy was to foster home industries by high import duties. He spared no pains to induce foreign artisans to settle on his territory and raise the standard of its own manufacturers. His efforts along these lines were amply rewarded. Wealth and comfort increased rapidly and helped more than his victories to make him popular. With his officials he sternly insisted on efficiency and honesty, and that with such good results that the fairness and justice of the Prussian courts, for instance, became proverbial. Less praise can be given to his influence on literature. Though not without literary tastes, he was imbued with the ideals of Voltaire and an admirer of the mocking and cynical tone of the French writers of the eighteenth century (§ 521). For the rising German literature (some of its masterpieces had already appeared), he had a profound contempt.

Frederick was the most perfect type of the "*benevolent despot*," of whom the eighteenth century presents several examples. He had at heart the material welfare of the people and worked untiringly to promote it. But his rule was based on the maxim: *All for the people, nothing through the people.* He loved power and wealth intensely, but, unlike Louis XIV, he despised its display and splendor. The revenues of the state were not wasted by an extravagant court or scattered among favorites. Hard, cynical, and entirely devoid of any religious or moral scruple, he unflinchingly pursued the one aim of his life, the greatness of the Prussian state. The success which he attained enabled Prussia later on to assume the leadership among the German states in place of Austria.

For Further Reading. — Hayes' *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, Chap. XI, treats this period clearly and succinctly. Consult also Guggenberger, Vol. III, § 108 ff. See also Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II, Ch. XXXII, IV. For England see Hayes' *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, Chap. IX.

CHAPTER XXXIII

AUSTRIA AND THE EAST

A. Austria and the Southeast

500. The Peace of Westphalia left the Empire in a condition of gradual dissolution. The Hapsburgs, the hereditary rulers of Austria, still continued to be elected emperors, yet outside of their own lands they exercised very little authority, so little in fact that the other states composing the Empire acted almost independently. This was notably the case with Prussia. The hereditary domains of the Hapsburgs were, however, quite considerable. Besides the duchies of Austria proper (on the Danube), of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol, they included the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary (but the latter was much reduced by the encroachments of the Turks). There were, moreover, other smaller territories scattered along the Rhine and elsewhere, and the Peace of Utrecht (§ 482) had brought the former Spanish Netherlands under the sway of the Austrian Hapsburgs. These dominions, large though they were, contained more than one element of weakness. No prince ever ruled over a greater medley of races, differing widely in language, customs, and traditions. Yet, on the whole, the bond of loyalty to a common ruler proved stronger than conflicting interests, and prevented disruption by foreign enemies.

At first this subjection to one ruler was practically the only feature common to all the Hapsburg lands. Toward the end of Maria Theresa's reign (1740–1780), and especially under her successor Joseph II, attempts were made to bring about

greater uniformity in law and administration. But the experiment proved, for the most part, a failure (§ 504).

The greatest merit of the Hapsburg monarchy, for which she deserves the everlasting gratitude of civilized mankind, was her *heroic defense of Christendom against the Turk.*

501. The Turkish Danger. — The story of the rise and westward expansion of the Ottoman Turks has been told in a former chapter. We have witnessed how the Byzantine Empire with its capital Constantinople and the Christian states of the Balkan peninsula fell a prey to their merciless hordes (§§ 319 and 320). For a while the Hungarians formed the bulwark of Christendom, but during the religious upheaval in Charles V's time the Mohammedan armies swept over the plains of Hungary and subjected the greater part of that Christian state to the Crescent. Thus matters remained until the middle of the seventeenth century, or until the reign of Louis XIV.

502. Austria Saves Europe. — In the beginning of the personal government of Louis (1661) the Turks made their last desperate efforts to enslave the West. Pope, princes, and peoples realized the common danger, and everywhere some of the old crusading spirit revived. It is to the everlasting disgrace of Louis XIV that he, who loved to pose as the leading Catholic monarch, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the pope. He did worse. In his blind hatred against the Hapsburgs he constantly aided and abetted the cause of the Turks by intrigues, subsidies, and even formal treaties.

An election dispute in Transylvania furnished the Ottoman with a pretext to overrun entire Hungary with fire and sword. But a brilliant victory of an imperial army at St. Gotthard (1664) gave the Christians some respite. Eighteen years later the war broke out anew. Tököly, an ambitious Hungarian noble and bitter Calvinist, strove to make himself ruler of Christian and Turkish Hungary, and invoked the help of the Sultan. This time the Turks advanced to the *very walls of*

Vienna and undertook a siege which lasted two months and reduced the heroic defenders to the point of starvation. Then the rescue came. *Pope Innocent XI* had worked indefatigably to procure help for the hard-pressed emperor, Leopold I. Finally he effected an alliance between Leopold and the Polish king *Sobieski*, the most chivalrous character of that period. At the head of a Christian army of 80,000 men, aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, Sobieski arrived on the heights overlooking the city of Vienna and the vast Turkish camp. On Septemtember 14, 1683, the decisive battle took place. The Turks were completely defeated and an enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors. *From now on the Turk is on the defensive.*

503. The war continued for the next few years. — In the battle of *Mohacs*, where a century and a half earlier the last native king of Hungary had lost battle and life, another Christian victory freed that much-harassed land forever from Turkish domination. In 1697 the command of the imperial armies was given to one of the greatest generals of modern history, *Prince Eugene of Savoy*. He soon became the idol of the Christian warriors and the terror of the Turks. In the same year he routed a Turkish army under the personal command of the Sultan at *Zenta*. This led to the Peace of Carlowitz, which restored to the emperor *all Hungary* and *Transylvania*. Venice, Poland, and Russia likewise benefited by the discomfiture of the Sultan. Eugene was then, as we have seen, employed in the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 402). But in 1714 new Turkish aggressions led to another brilliant campaign of Eugene, in which he wrested *Belgrade*, the door of entrance to the Hungarian plains, from the grasp of the Sultan and pushed his conquests far into Serbia. After his death in 1736 the Mohammedans retook Belgrade, but Hungary remained free. Henceforth the chief foes of the Turk were Russia and the revived Balkan nationalities. The story of their successes will be told in a later chapter.

504. "Josephism." — The accession of Maria Theresa, we learned, gave the signal for a general attack on the Hapsburg lands. She lost the beautiful Silesia, but the patriotism of her subjects enabled her to maintain her other dominions intact. She is one of the noblest characters in the long line of Hapsburg rulers. Earnest and generous, she had always at heart the true welfare of her people. The teachings of religion were the mainsprings of her public and private life, and her court was the most virtuous in Europe. In the latter part of her reign, however, she was misled by her advisers to interfere unduly with the affairs of the Church. This tendency became the keynote of the policy of her son and successor, Joseph II, and has, after him, received the name of "*Josephism.*" As soon as the new emperor assumed the reins of government, he rushed headlong into a series of "reforms" in Church and State, which did great harm to both. He interfered with the free intercourse between the bishops and the Holy See, regulated ecclesiastical education in the seminaries, suppressed a large number of monasteries, because they "did not serve any practical purpose." He even legislated on the details of divine service, so that the old scoffer Frederick II derisively dubbed him "the brother sacristan." In all these measures he was not moved by any opposition to religion as such, but by a desire to play the "benevolent despot" (§ 499) who considers himself alone competent to promote the welfare of the state. In political matters Joseph showed similar inclinations to regulate everything and to interfere with established customs and privileges. This was extremely imprudent in a monarchy made up of so many different peoples. In Hungary and especially in the *Austrian Netherlands* it led to open rebellion. The latter country declared its independence and, practically, withdrew forever from the Hapsburg rule. Another unfortunate event falls partly into his reign, though he bears the smaller share in the guilt, — the *Partition of Poland.*

B. The Partitions of Poland

505. Poland's Weakness. — With the exception of Russia, Poland was the largest kingdom in Europe. It covered an immense plain, extending from the Baltic to the Carpathian mountains and from Silesia to the Dnieper. Yet, strange as it

seems, this vast kingdom with its twelve million inhabitants fell an easy prey to its greedy neighbors. This demands some explanation.

The Poles were a warlike people. The absence of well-defined natural boundaries brought them into frequent conflict with their neighbors. The Teutonic Knights, to the north, suc-

cumbed after a long struggle with the Poles (§ 321), and in the south and east the Poles took their full share in the battles of Christendom against Mohammedanism. As elsewhere, these frequent wars produced a *numerous nobility*, devoted to war and living on war. Though mostly poor, these nobles formed a proud exclusive caste that held the rest of the nation — largely peasants — in absolute subjection. In the eighteenth century the entire peasantry was still kept in serfdom and bound to the soil as tenants of the nobles. It is, therefore, not surprising that, at least in the beginning of Poland's downfall, the peasants showed little patriotism. For them, they thought, there was nothing to lose and everything to gain by a change of masters.

The government of Poland was the worst imaginable. The nobles did their utmost to restrict kingly power, at a time when foreign danger made a strong central government absolutely necessary. The kingship was not hereditary, but whenever a ruler died, the nobles assembled and chose a new one, usually a foreigner. These elections were tumultuous, and the neighboring powers often interfered, by threats or bribery, to secure the choice of a candidate favorable to their interests. The supreme power rested with the Diet, an assembly of the representatives of the nobility; but this Diet was, perhaps, the most inefficient lawmaking body ever convened. For no decree proposed could become law except by the *unanimous* consent of all the deputies. As a result, most of the Diets broke up without accomplishing anything.

506. Poland's Fall. — Her neighbors had long ago formed their designs in regard to Poland. In Russia, after the death of Peter the Great, the throne was for the greater part of the time held by women, the most noted of whom was Catharine II. This highly gifted, though incredibly profligate, woman had waged a successful war against Turkey, in which she extended her territory to the Black Sea and thus made Russia the mistress of these waters. She next planned the annexation of the whole

of Poland. But Frederick the Great, anxious to fill the gap between Prussia and the old Electorate of Brandenburg, managed to arrange with Catharine a partition treaty. Austria was at first reluctant to share in the robbery, but the fear that the "balance of power" might be disturbed by the annexations of the other two induced her to demand a portion of Polish territory. Accordingly, in 1772 Prussia annexed what was formerly *West Prussia* (§ 321), Russia and Austria each took districts which bordered on their own dominions. The weak king of Poland, a creature of Catharine, had to give his consent.

At last Poland seemed to realize the danger to her very existence. Sweeping reforms were introduced, the crown became hereditary, and a modernized parliament took the place of the old Diet. Nothing could be further from the wishes of Russia and Prussia. Unfortunately, too, a number of discontented Polish nobles plotted with Catharine to overthrow the new government. They rose in arms, and Russian and Prussian forces came to their aid. The Polish patriots were led by *Thaddeus Kosciusko*, who had served in America under Washington, but they succumbed to the overwhelming strength of their enemies, and a *second partition*, in 1793, reduced Poland to less than one half its former size. Austria was this time put off with empty promises. But Kosciusko still retained hope. While he vainly tried to rouse the sympathy of the Western courts, a national insurrection was organized with the utmost secrecy. It broke out in the spring of 1794. Trained soldiers and peasants armed with scythes from every part of old Poland flocked to the national standard. Kosciusko performed wonders of valor, and for a long while held off the superior numbers of his foes. But at last the Poles had to give way, Warsaw, the capital, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the brave Kosciusko was wounded and captured. The Polish king had to abdicate, and the remainder of the dismembered kingdom *was divided* among Russia, Prussia, and Austria (1795). In the

three partitions Russia received nearly twice the combined shares of Austria and Prussia, and at a later date she incorporated nearly the whole of old Poland. But the Poles have never given up their rightful demand for national independence. Repeatedly during the last century they made vain attempts to rebuild Poland. And justice demands that this great crime be undone.

For Further Reading. — Brief accounts of the Turkish wars are given in Guggenberger, Vol. II, § 221, pp. 619–630. See Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 312, for Sobieski's narrative of the siege of Vienna. Josephism is well treated in MacCaffrey, *From the Renaissance to the Revolution*, Vol. I, pp. 323 ff. A fairly detailed description of the partition of Poland may be found in Guggenberger, Vol. III, §§ 142–156, and in Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 381 ff.

PART IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XXXIV

ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

507. Meaning of the Revolution. — In the sixteenth century Germany gave the world a religious revolution; and now, at the end of the eighteenth century, France was to give it a political and social revolution. Both revolutions deserve the name more than any other upheaval in history. The English revolution of 1688 was, after all, nothing but a return of the nation to the old groove; the American revolution was merely a sudden leap forward in a direction in which the American people had long been progressing. *But the religious revolt of Luther and his followers in other countries was a complete break with the past, and so was the French Revolution.* It overturned and swept away a society and institutions that had been growing up for centuries. It introduced new views and a new spirit wholly at variance with the spirit of former ages. It was a spirit, not merely of reform but of radical change. And just because it was radical, because it aimed at the very roots of traditional institutions, it wrought good and evil, real progress and unwarranted destruction. Moreover, though its beginnings and its most violent outbursts lay in France, it sent tremors and shocks through the whole body politic of Europe, and *has continued to do so to the present day.* But to understand its beginnings, we first have to study conditions in France on the eve of the Revolution.

A. The French People

508. Toward the end of the eighteenth century France had a population of about twenty-five millions. Tremendous

changes had taken place from the time when France sent forth her heroic crusaders and when the troubadours wandered from castle to castle and delighted with their songs the hearts of noble knights and fair ladies. Commerce had grown enormously, towns and cities had sprung up that contained a large and important part of the population, the feudal nobles had lost their independence. Nevertheless, if we were suddenly transferred into French society of the eighteenth century, we would everywhere come across many relics of the feudal system. We would be struck, above all, with the sharp division of the people into two classes. One section of the population, about a quarter of a million, constituted the privileged classes, the other, the mass of the common people. A brief sketch of these classes is necessary, if we are to understand the working of the revolution.

509. The Privileged Classes — the Nobility. — The nobles, partly descendants of the old feudal lords, partly such as had bought a title, — and this was rather easy, — had under Richelieu and Louis XIV been deprived of their territorial rights (§§ 408 and 477). Yet this by no means put them back among the common people. They still formed a separate class, without, however, rendering any important service to the nation. Instead of becoming leaders in commerce or intellectual endeavors, they craved only for a brilliant position at the court of Versailles. Hundreds flocked thither and strove to outdo one another in display of splendor and pomp.

Arthur Young, an English gentleman who traveled extensively in France just before the Revolution, says about these nobles: "Exile alone forces French nobles to do what an English noble does by preference, to reside upon his private estate and to improve it."

The residence at Versailles often estranged them from their estates. When a family, after a long stay at the court, returned to its ancestral mansion, it did so merely to replenish its purse at the expense of the tenants. A false class spirit kept them

from engaging in humbler yet more lucrative pursuits or even from retrieving their fortunes by a marriage outside their class. Of political life, in which they might have assumed leading rôles, there was little at this period, as the old legislative assemblies had nearly disappeared. To accept positions of command in

THE CHÂTEAU OF CHENONCEAUX. — A typical residence of a French nobleman.

the army or to enter the charmed circle of the court they considered alone worthy of their dignity. But these places were not open to all, but only to the higher nobility which could trace back its noble descent for several generations.

510. The Clergy. — The French clergy before the Revolution formed a powerful body, in numbers as well as in wealth. The annual revenue of the Church from tithes, rents, and other sources reached nearly thirty-four million dollars. *The tithes*, that is, a tax on landed estates for the support of religion, were usually levied with great moderation, and the tenants on church lands fared better than their fellows on the estates of the nobles.

It was, however, offensive to the people that the clergy was largely exempted from taxation, and that the tithes, instead of going to their own poor parish priests, went almost entirely to distant prelates or other members of the higher clergy. This *higher clergy*, that is, chiefly bishops and abbots, was to a great extent under the control of the king, who nominated the candidates to the higher positions in the Church and almost always chose them from the nobility. The *lower clergy*, on the other hand, was recruited from the peasantry and the townspeople. The large revenue of the Church was very unequally distributed, so that the income of the higher clergy amounted to princely sums while the parish priests and their assistants lived, for the most part, in extreme poverty. These differences in wealth and social rank were a source of many abuses and created much ill feeling between the two classes. As a body, the higher clergy was not unworthy of its sacred office, though it could hardly boast of any members eminent for learning or holiness. The common priests were, with a few exceptions, men of irreproachable lives, devoted to their duties, and in sympathy with the common people.

511. The Third Estate, the Bourgeoisie. — For centuries the French had used the term "Third Estate" to designate that vast bulk of the nation that did not belong to the privileged classes, the first and second estates, or the clergy and nobility. This Third Estate included two sections, differing considerably from each other, — the middle class and the peasantry. The middle class, called "bourgeoisie" (from bourg-town), may be compared to our city people. They were the manufacturers, merchants, physicians, lawyers, civil officials, and tax-farmers of the country. In general, they enjoyed a fair amount of prosperity. Many of them had received a good secular education and were ardent students of the literature of the day. *It is principally from this class that the Revolution took its leaders.* At the outset, their sympathies were entirely with the peasants,

and they entertained a deep-rooted dislike for the privileged classes, partly because they were debarred from their society in spite of wealth and industry, and partly because, in common with the peasants, they had to bear the chief burden of taxation. The tradespeople had a grievance of their own against the old gild system, that still existed but had failed to adapt itself to changed conditions (§ 257). As it was, it hampered the progressive tradesman on every side. A " cobbler " who mended shoes could not make new ones. A baker could make bread, but not cakes, and so forth.

512. In spite of the growth of commerce and manufactures **the vast majority of the French people** — perhaps twenty out of twenty-five millions — **were still employed in tilling the soil.** In the eighteenth century serfdom had practically disappeared, that is, the peasants were personally free to leave the land and seek profitable employment elsewhere. Yet this was of little advantage to the farmer, for oppressive taxation and lack of education made it well-nigh impossible to get the necessary capital for any other enterprise. Leaving aside the hired laborers, who had no particular grievance, the peasants were either tenants or small proprietors. But the latter fared little better than the former. For, as a rule, they had not bought their holdings for a round sum, but for perpetual rent-charges and for services. These services proved more and more irksome as the times of the feudal system became more and more remote. The farmer could not sell his land without paying for his lord's consent, nor sell his crop except in the lord's market. Commonly he still was obliged to have his corn ground in the lord's mill, leaving part of the flour as payment. Wild game of all sorts was protected for the lord's hunting. For broken fences and crops trampled in the chase the peasant had no redress; and under no circumstances was he permitted to carry a gun to shoot the wild game that devoured his crops. These conditions explain, in part, the hatred against the nobles,

bursting forth in the very beginning of the Revolution (§ 538). There were, however, provinces where noble and peasant lived on very friendly terms, especially when the lord resided on his estate, instead of seeking the splendor and pleasures of the court. And, in general, the evils which weighed most heavily on the peasantry came not from the nobles, but from the defective administration. No government ever did more to discourage the peasants than the French government before the Revolution. Many evils could easily have been remedied, if more farsighted statesmen had watched over the real interests of France. As it was, farming became so unprofitable, and famines were so frequent in the rural districts that about one fourth of the soil lay waste.

B. Government and Taxation

513. Loss of Prestige. — Louis XIV, mainly by his own personal gifts and the aid of clever ministers, had succeeded in asserting almost unlimited royal prerogatives and in uniting in his own hand the powers hitherto shared by various local and provincial governing bodies. This system might have been maintained for a long time, had the successors of Louis XIV possessed some of his ability and foresight. *But Louis XV* (1715–1774), though holding the same exalted ideas of royal power, was a man of weak and openly immoral character, utterly incapable of retaining the respect and loyalty of the French people. The management of affairs passed into the hands of favorites, whose conduct of foreign policy brought disgrace and heavy losses in the Silesian and Seven Years' War. The arbitrary rule, barely tolerated in times of national greatness and prosperity, was now resented by the middle class and the peasantry. *Louis XVI* (1774–1792), a man of sincere good will and of irreproachable morals, was too little gifted and too weak and vacillating to stem the rising tide of discontent.

514. The machinery of government made popular control absolutely impossible. — The king ruled through a royal council of about forty members, appointed by himself and intrusted with the whole administration of the kingdom. Their representatives in the provinces were the *Intendants*, who revised or rejected the decrees of local authorities and were responsible to the king alone. Yet, *in spite of this centralization the government was far from efficient.* France was gradually formed, as we have seen, out of a variety of provinces added to the royal domain by bargain, conquest, marriage, and so on. Originally each of these provinces possessed its own legislative assembly, the *Provincial Estates*, but most of these bodies had in the course of time ceased to exist and their functions were assumed by the crown. On the other hand, the local customs and laws remained in force, giving rise to endless confusion. A man moving from the south to the north, or even from one town to another, might find himself entangled in a wholly unfamiliar legal system. Neither was France a single state *commercially*. The principal custom duties upon goods were not collected as they entered France from abroad, but on various custom lines within the country. Thus Paris was cut off from the rest of France as from a foreign country. If, for instance, a merchant from Languedoc sent a boatload of wine to Paris, he lost about a fortnight in paying some forty tolls.

515. The administration of justice lay almost exclusively in the hands of royal courts. True, the feudal and communal courts still existed, but they had little power except to vex the poor peasants by their capricious decisions. The principal royal courts, called *Parlements*, were thirteen in number, of which the *Parlement of Paris* was the oldest and most influential. In fact, it claimed to be something more than a judicial tribunal. It enjoyed the right to register royal decrees and, by refusing to do this, it sometimes tried to curb the monarch's will. But frequently enough its claims were resisted and its decisions put

aside by the royal council. Criticism of the government was a rather difficult, and sometimes dangerous, undertaking. Secrecy enveloped the business of the state so that few if any had real insight into the conduct of the government. Even the frightful condition of the finances was almost unknown, until shortly before the Revolution.

516. The arbitrary and capricious temper of the administration added greatly to the rising discontent. While elsewhere the letter of the law, however imperfect, was usually held sacred, in France the good pleasure of the king overrode all legal restrictions. The French kings of the eighteenth century seem not to have understood the value of fixed principles or the danger of irregular exceptions. Orders, decrees, and counter orders followed one another in bewildering succession.

"The government seldom undertakes, or soon abandons, the most necessary reforms. . . . It incessantly changes particular regulations or particular laws. In the sphere in which it acts nothing remains an instant in repose. New rules succeed each other with a rapidity so strange that the agents of the state, because of being commanded so often, have trouble in making out how they are to obey. . . . People often complain that Frenchmen despise the law. Alas! When could they have learned to respect it." (De Tocqueville)

Another instance of the arbitrary character of the government is afforded by the notorious "*lettres de cachet*" (lit. letters of the seal). They were simply orders for the arrest and imprisonment of some one who had incurred the royal displeasure. Without trial or formality of any sort a person might be cast into a dungeon for an indefinite period, until the king happened to remember him or was reminded of him by the poor man's friends. It was easy for any man who had influence at court to obtain such a letter and thus conveniently dispose of an enemy. It is true that under Louis XVI they were issued less frequently than in the previous reigns, but nevertheless they show the despotic temper of the French government which

thought far too much of enforcing submission and far too little of the rights of its citizens.

517. The bankruptcy of the government was the immediate cause of the Revolution. — The monarchy felt no responsibility to the nation, and so it spent money wastefully and wickedly. Louis XIV, we have seen, left France burdened with a huge debt (§ 483). His successor, the profligate Louis XV, added to it by his participation in a number of wars, but, above all, by the shameless corruption of his administration. The maintenance of the court at Versailles swallowed enormous sums. Large amounts went to favorites in the form of pensions or salaries for imaginary services. No account or estimate of expenses was kept, *no statements published.* The government lived from hand to mouth, and frequently the income of the following year had already been anticipated. Louis XVI, though personally not extravagant, did not succeed in reducing the expenses of the administration, and the court went on living as luxuriously as ever. In the last year before the Revolution the public debt had grown to such proportions that over *one half of the annual receipts were needed to pay the interest,* and new debts had to be contracted to meet the ordinary expenses.

518. Taxation. — In spite of the wasteful methods of the government a country as rich as France could have easily borne the burden of taxation, had the taxes been fairly distributed among the various classes of the people. Instead, the privileged classes were almost exempt from taxation. The clergy, however, every fifth or sixth year voted a contribution to the crown in the form of a "gratuitous gift," besides giving special aid on extraordinary occasions, such as wars. The nobility was either exempt or bought exemption by bribery or other illegal means. The richest man in France, the Duke of Orleans, stated his case frankly when he said, "I make arrangements with the tax officials, and I pay only what I wish." Often the wealthier members of the bourgeoisie escaped taxation by similar methods.

Thus the burden fell on those least able to pay, and various clumsy devices made the collection of taxes needlessly annoying.

The chief tax had once been a *land tax*. Now it was assessed only on the peasant villages, and that in the most arbitrary fashion. Government officials fixed the amount each year, often making the slightest signs of increasing thrift and comfort a pretext for raising the tax. As a consequence, the peasants jealously concealed what little comfort they had and left their cottages in ruins. This direct tax, together with feudal dues, church tithes, and other items raised the amount to be paid by the farmer to nearly four fifths of his income. From the remainder he had to support his family and defray the cost of necessary articles, made higher by various indirect taxes.

The most hated of these indirect taxes was the *gabelle*, or salt tax. No salt could be bought except from the government, and the law fixed the price and the amount to be purchased by every family. There would have been nothing very remarkable in this, if the price of salt had been everywhere the same. But as it was, the people in one town might be forced to pay thirty times as much as their neighbors in an adjacent town. To quote a single example: In the city of Dijon in eastern France a certain amount of salt cost seven francs; a few miles to the east one had to pay twenty-seven francs, to the south twenty-eight francs, while still farther, in Gex, there was no tax whatever. Of course, the trade of the smuggler flourished, thousands of officials and troops had to be employed to suppress smuggling, and the cost of collecting the gabelle swallowed nearly one third of its proceeds.

519. These are only a few of the heavy burdens that discouraged the peasantry and the lower classes. There were others, such as the tolls mentioned above, the *corvées*, a sort of labor tax which compelled the peasant to leave his own work, no matter how critical the harvest time, at the call of an official, and to toil without pay on roads and other public works.

There were, therefore, plenty of abuses. But a revolution requires more. It requires *actual discontent* and ideas of a different order of things. Moreover, we must not make the mistake of comparing the condition of the French people of the eighteenth century with that of the farmer or tradesman of the present day. Wretched as it seems to us, it was no worse than the lot of the peasantry in many other lands, in Poland, parts of Germany, and elsewhere. *Why, then, did France in particular become the scene of a revolution?* Why, above all, did the Revolution not stop at reforming abuses, but break completely with the past and bring about a state of unrest in all Europe, which state is the chief characteristic of the nineteenth century? To understand this side of the Revolution, we have to know something of the ideas and the literature that swayed the minds of the French people on the eve of the great upheaval.

C. The Spirit of the Revolution

520. "The Philosophers." — The ideas expressed by the French literature of the eighteenth century were largely imported from England. Since the days of Oliver Cromwell it was the fashion of many English writers to attack not only the old Church abolished by Henry VIII, but all religions claiming to possess divine revelation. They rejected the Bible which contained that revelation and, in general, denied that God had ever spoken to mankind or manifested Himself through the person of Jesus Christ. *Reason alone,* they asserted, is sufficient to guide man in his relations with his Maker and to work out man's happiness here and hereafter. Hence they called themselves "*Rationalists,*" or "*Freethinkers,*" because they professed to be free from any belief in their search after truth. Some of them went further and denied the very existence of God; others proclaimed their freedom not only from the teaching of any divine authority but also from the moral laws of

Christianity. About the middle of the eighteenth century a reaction set in against these destructive tendencies, and the freethinkers retired into the secrecy of *Masonic lodges*. By means of these lodges their views were spread rapidly over the continent, in Protestant and Catholic countries.

Nowhere did these views find a more fertile soil than in France. English freethinkers like *Bolingbroke*, *John Locke*, and others were eagerly read in Paris, and a considerable number of French writers traveled and studied in England. Soon a veritable flood of books and pamphlets rose in France, in which the Catholic Church and its doctrines were abused and held responsible for all the evils of the age. Others directed their attacks against the social order and may be considered the forerunners of the modern Socialists (§ 662). "*Philosophy*" was the high-sounding title which these French freethinkers and infidels bestowed upon their attacks against throne and altar.

521. Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. — The leader of these "Philosophers" was *Voltaire*, a brilliant and prolific, but extremely superficial, writer. Having spent three years in England, where he became acquainted with the anti-Christian writers of that country, he returned to France and devoted a long life to the destruction of the teachings of Christianity. His ready wit and bitter sarcasm and his quick perception of the weak points of his adversaries won him a large circle of readers among the bourgeoisie and the dissolute nobility. Round him were grouped a band of clever supporters, men like *Diderot* and *d'Alembert*, pledged to assist him in his work of destruction. These men decided to publish an *encyclopedia* in which religious subjects were to be treated with an outward show of reverence, while the true opinion of the writer was indicated by adding a reference to some article on a scientific subject in which the principles of Christianity were attacked. By this method the writers were able to undermine the very foundations of religion

without rudely shocking their readers and without incurring the penalties of the law against the publication of open attacks on religion. The work had a remarkable success, especially since the clergy, instead of fighting them on their own grounds, relied rather on royal prohibitions and suppressions. These men were hailed as leaders in progress and enlightenment. Yet of real reform, of lifting up the oppressed and poor, they had little to say.

"Écrasez l'infâme," "crush the infamous thing," that is, the Church, was the battle cry of Voltaire, yet the fear of hell and the hope of heavenly reward was to be left to the poor so as to keep them in humble submission to their hard lot. Equality of men, according to Voltaire, was the greatest nonsense. The private lives of these "philosophers" showed plainly enough what they meant by following only the dictates of reason. Of Voltaire his contemporary Rousseau gave the verdict: "More of a wit than of a genius, without faith, honor, and virtue, he died as he lived, covered with fame and infamy."

VOLTAIRE.

522. Rousseau. — While Voltaire and his friends expected the realization of their ideas from some "benevolent despot," another writer of that time attacked the existing governments. This was *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, a native of Geneva who had settled down in Paris. He realized better than any one else the dull discontent of the masses, their longing for a change, and he gave them clear and forceful expression. His works are numer-

ous, but the best known among them, and one that has often been called the textbook of the Revolution, is a short treatise on government, entitled "*The Social Contract.*" He begins by asking: "Why is it that man, who is born free, is now everywhere enslaved?" The answer he gives implies that all existing governments are illegitimate; that there is only one legal government, the will of the majority. The State, according to Rousseau, is a society formed by free mutual agreement. In this society the people are the rulers, and merely delegate some of the power to an individual or a body of officials. But if they are not satisfied with these officials, they have the right to remove them at any time. This was writing that the masses could understand, and before long his works were in the hands of everybody, and his theories formed the subject of universal discussion. The rights of the people, their social equality, were doctrines certain to be passionately believed by the masses. Unfortunately, the excited public overlooked many of his warnings, an oversight which, after his death (1778), led to frightful consequences.

523. It will be asked why these new and irreligious ideas of the Philosophers found so little resistance in an entirely Catholic country like France. — The answer is, *because religious life was in the eighteenth century at a very low ebb.* It need not surprise us that the higher clergy, generally chosen from the nobility and almost entirely under the control of the crown, was not over-zealous in the discharge of its sacred duties, but more bent upon the maintenance of its privileged position and the enjoyment of its rich incomes. The lower clergy was poor and ill instructed, and for that reason possessed little influence with the educated classes. An even greater danger came from Gallicanism, a movement that had become strong in the days of Louis XIV and to which even the great Bossuet had lent the prestige of his name. It defended certain doctrines widely spread in the Gallican (French) church, which tended toward

weakening the bond of union between the Holy See and the French clergy. Thus the decrees of the pope on matters of faith and morals were to have force only if supported by the whole Church. At the same time the Gallicans were noted for their excessive servility toward the crown, even in questions touching the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. — Moreover, in this and the previous century, long and heated controversies regarding points of Catholic doctrine and practice, especially the nature of divine grace and the frequent reception of the Sacraments, had divided the French clergy into two hostile camps, and exposed it to the ridicule of its enemies.

Catholic education received a serious blow by the *expulsion of the Jesuits*. The Philosophers and intriguers at the corrupted court of Versailles had worked hard to bring about the fall of the order, and in 1764 their efforts were crowned with success. About 4000 of these excellent educators had to close their institutions and leave the soil of France. Not content with this, the freethinkers, working chiefly through the masonic lodges, induced other governments to demand from the Holy See the suppression of the Society of Jesus. By threats of schism they finally overcame the reluctance of Pope Clement XIV, and in 1773 the order was suppressed.[1]

524. The ever growing contempt for Church and religion found expression in a **frightful relaxation of morality**. The court set the example of shameless vice, and was imitated by all classes, nobles and bourgeois. It is plain that true reform which would have implied sacrifices could not come from such contaminated sources. There were, indeed, many who dimly saw the necessity of reform, and higher society frequently laughed at its own pretensions or indulged in sentimental dreams of uni-

[1] The order continued to exist in Russia where Catharine II forbade the publication of the decree of suppression. After some years it was revived, with special papal permission, in several other countries. In 1814 Pius VII restored it for the whole Church.

versal love and brotherhood. It loudly applauded the victories of true democracy in America, of which Lafayette brought glowing accounts. But upon the whole, the privileged classes lacked insight and energy for any serious attempt at change that might involve the surrender of their privileges. Meantime the financial situation of the government became so desperate that something had to be done to avert a catastrophe.

D. Attempts at Reform

525. One of the few that had sincerely at heart the welfare of the nation was King Louis XVI (§ 513). But his weakness and indecision was almost as harmful as his predecessor's wickedness. He abandoned the wisest measures and the best ministers rather than face the sour looks of his courtiers or the pouts of the queen. The latter, *Marie Antoinette*, a daughter of the great Maria Theresa, was far more energetic than her husband, but, being a foreigner and an Austrian, she was unpopular and unable to understand the character of the French people. She had great influence with the king, and some of his most imprudent measures were due to her advice.

Marie Antoinette and Her Children. — From a painting by Mme. Le Brun.

526. Turgot. — When Louis came to the throne the national debt amounted to some five hundred million dollars and it was increased each year by ten millions more. The king began well

by appointing Turgot as minister of finance, an able and experienced administrator. The new minister abolished the forced labor of the peasants and some of the interior custom lines. He also cut down the frivolous expenses of the court and curtailed remorselessly the long pension lists. Then he planned more far-reaching reforms — to recast the whole system of taxation, to equalize the burdens, and to introduce a scheme of public education. "A whole pacific French Revolution was in that head," says Carlyle. But the courtiers looked black; the queen hated the reformer who interfered with her pleasures, and so Louis grew cold and dismissed the man who might have saved France from a revolution of violence (1776). In one of his last letters Turgot warned the king prophetically: "It was weakness, Sire, which laid the head of Charles I on the block."

527. Necker. — Nearly all of Turgot's reforms were swiftly undone. But in 1776 Louis called another reformer. Necker was not a statesman like his predecessor, but he had considerable experience in financial matters and might have done something for the treasury, if his difficulties had not increased tremendously by the French loans to the American colonies in their War of Independence. Bonds were issued to raise the necessary sums, but the annual interest had to be paid, and Necker had to get more money. In his predicament he laid before the king a plan for sweeping reforms, much along Turgot's lines. The courtiers grumbled, and the minister was dismissed (1781). But shortly before his retirement *he published, for the first time, a detailed statement of the financial condition* of the government. Although he did not venture to tell the full truth, he opened the eyes of the public to the appalling state of affairs. The effect, of course, was not an increase of the government's popularity.

528. Calonne. — Once more the old abuses were restored. Then the new minister of finance, the courtly Calonne, adopted

the policy of the unscrupulous bankrupt, and tried to create credit by lavish extravagance. For a time he succeeded, but in 1786 the treasury was running behind to the amount of twenty-five million dollars a year! Even the clever Calonne was at his wit's end. He advised the king to call the "*Notables of France.*" The Notables were such leading members of the Three Estates (§ 511) as the king would summon to receive their counsel. This time the Third Estate was poorly represented; most of the members were nobles or clergy. To the amazed gathering Calonne suggested that the privileged classes give up their exemption from taxation. All cried out against him — the few progressives for what he had done in the past, the many conservatives for what he now proposed to do.

529. Calonne gave way to a successor who found himself at once driven to Calonne's plan. It was necessary to get more money, and that could be had only by taxing those who had something wherewith to pay.

As the Notables were still stubborn, the king dismissed them, and then tried to force Calonne's plan upon the nobles by royal edict. But such an edict, to have legal force, had to be registered by the Parlement of Paris (§ 515). That body refused, because many of its members were of the privileged orders, and it cloaked its dislike for reforms under the excuse that the only power in France which could properly impose new taxes was the *Estates General.* The king banished the parlement, but it had given a rallying cry to the nation.

530. The Estates General (§ 195) had not met since 1614. Suggestions for assembling them had been made from time to time, ever since Louis XVI became king. Now, after the action of the Parlement of Paris, the demand became universal and imperious. Finally, August 8, 1788, the king yielded. He recalled Necker and promised that the Estates General should be convoked.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, Vol. III, §§ 157–182, dwells at length on the causes of the great upheaval. MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, pp. 1–10, gives a brief but lucid summary. Source material may be found in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 5, and VI, No. 1 (short extracts from French writers of the time), and in Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II.

Most histories of the French Revolution enter into its causes. Mallet is perhaps the most suitable for students. The first two chapters are devoted to the Eve of the Revolution. Belloc, *The French Revolution*, has good sketches of the leading characters. — The student should not fail to read the excellent chapter on the Revolution in G. Kurth, *The Church at the Turning Points of History*.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE REVOLUTION IN TIME OF PEACE

A. May to August, 1789: The Assembly at Versailles

531. In electing the Estates General, the country was divided into districts. The nobility and the clergy of each district came together to choose delegates. The delegates of the Third Estate were elected indirectly by "electoral colleges." In choosing these colleges all taxpayers had a vote.

When finally chosen, the Estates General consisted of about 600 members of the Third Estate, 300 nobles, and 300 clergy. About two thirds of the deputies of the clergy were village priests, generally ill disposed towards the higher clergy and in sympathy with the Third Estate. There were also a few priests among the members of the Third Estate and about fifteen nobles. Of the former *Sieyès* was to achieve distinction, and among the latter the dissolute but highly gifted Count *Mirabeau* easily held the first place. On the whole, the members of the Third Estate were men of culture but *steeped in the fashionable "philosophy" of Rousseau and Voltaire.* Country lawyers and town politicians formed the vast majority of that assembly, not to the advantage of the nation as a whole. Says Edmund Burke: "The general composition (of the assembly) was of obscure provincial advocates, of stewards of petty local jurisdiction, country attorneys, and the whole train of the ministers of municipal litigation, the fomentors and conductors of the petty village war of village vexation. From the moment I read the list I saw distinctly, and very nearly as it happened, all that was to follow."

532. The Estates General becomes the National Assembly. — May 5, 1789, the king solemnly opened the Estates General at Versailles. There was an enthusiastic outburst of loyalty. The royal address suggested some reforms, but it was plain that the king hoped mainly for more taxes, and those who had expected radical reforms were sadly disappointed. Even Necker's three hours' address, which followed the king's, dwelt only upon the need for prompt action to relieve the government's financial straits.

Unfortunately, the ministers had completely neglected to *prepare so important an assembly* and to settle certain delicate points in advance. Hence confusion followed immediately. The first dispute arose over the manner of organizing the Estates General. The nobles and the clergy were for sitting and voting as *separate chambers*, after the ancient fashion. This would have given the privileged orders two votes to one for the Third Estate, and would have blocked every reform; for a measure to become law had to pass all three chambers. For this reason the Third Estate insisted that all three orders should *organize as one chamber*, where its members could outvote the other two combined. Over this question there followed a deadlock for five weeks.

But delay was serious. The preceding harvest had been a failure, and famine stalked through the land. In Paris every bakeshop had its "tail" of men and women, standing through the night for a chance to buy bread. Such conditions called for speedy action, especially as the ignorant masses had got it into their heads that the marvelous Estates General would in some way make food plenty.

Finally (June 17), on motion of Sieyès, the Third Estate declared that by itself it represented ninety-six per cent of the nation, and that, with or without the other orders, it would organize as a *National Assembly*. At the same time it invited the other two to join the Third Estate. *The die was now cast,*

and the Revolution had begun. For this decree swept away the time-honored distinction into three classes, declared one estate the *sole representative* of the nation, precisely because it *represented the bulk of the nation,* and all this was done without the sanction of the king. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent.

533. The Tennis Court Oath. — Two days later the Assembly was joined by half the clergy, mainly parish priests, and by a few liberal nobles. But the next morning (June 20) the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging for a "royal session." Plainly, the king was about to interfere. The gathering adjourned to a tennis court near by and there unanimously took an oath *never to separate until they had established the constitution on a firm basis.*

The idea of a written constitution came from America. Six years earlier Franklin, our ambassador to France, had published French translations of the constitutions adopted by the new American States. The pamphlet had been widely read and much talked about. The Instructions[1] of delegates to the Assembly had commonly called for a constitution. To make one became now the chief purpose of the Assembly. That body, indeed, soon became known as the *Constituent Assembly.*

534. King and Assembly Clash. — On June 23 Louis summoned the three estates to meet him. He then told them that they were to organize as *three separate bodies* and to carry out certain specified reforms. If they failed to comply with the royal wishes, the king himself would "secure the happiness of his people." After this momentary display of authority he bade them disperse.

When the king left, the nobles and the higher clergy followed.

[1] Nearly every gathering for choosing delegates to the Assembly had drawn up a statement of grievances and had suggested reforms for the guidance of its representatives. These *cahiers* (kä-yā′) are the most valuable source of our knowledge of France before the Revolution. See *Pennsylvania Reprints,* IV, No. 5, for examples.

The new " National Assembly " kept their seats. There was a moment of uncertainty. Flatly to refuse obedience to a definite royal command was unheard of. Then Mirabeau (§ 531) rose to remind the delegates of their oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reëntering, asked haughtily if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. " *Yes,*" broke in Mirabeau's thunder; " *but go and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away.*" Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: " Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, on whose part soever the same be commanded."

The king's weakness prevented conflict; and perhaps it was as well; for Paris was rising, and the French Guards, the main body of the troops there, refused to fire on the mob. On June 24 forty-seven nobles joined the Assembly, and in less than a week *the king ordered the rest to join.*

535. Paris and the Assembly. — Meanwhile the excitement in Paris grew intense. Then, as always, the capital was the center of political life. The failure of the harvest had produced great calamity in the provinces and filled the land with beggars and vagabonds. In Paris relief work had been set on foot by the authorities, and this attracted thousands of the idle and restless element. The wealthier classes, too, put their hope in upheaval, as they despaired of the ability of the government to pay its debts. Clubs were formed and numberless meetings were held. In many an obscure gathering language was used and methods were suggested which no deputy would have ventured at Versailles.

One of the hotbeds of seditious intrigue was the *Palais Royal,* the residence of *Louis Philippe,* Duke of Orleans and a distant relative of the king. The duke had conceived the project of supplanting Louis on the throne and based his hopes on a

revolution. Hence he made his palace, a magnificent building with vast halls and gardens, the meeting place of all the most reckless politicians who then swarmed to Paris. There the most radical clubs held their meetings, the most inflammatory speeches were delivered, and, as all the attractions of carousing and gambling and loose living were added, the orators never wanted an audience. The duke and his helpers had already succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the French Guards.

536. The king, frightened by the daily growing menace of the mob, had gathered troops from the provinces in the neighborhood of Versailles and Paris, largely German and Swiss mercenaries. The rumor was spread that this meant an attack upon the Assembly. On July 9 Mirabeau declared this to be the object of the king and, on his motion, the Assembly requested Louis to withdraw the troops. The king, instead, dismissed Necker, the idol of the people, who, however, because of his vacillating policy deserves little credit as a statesman.

This was on the evening of July 11. About noon the next day the news was whispered in the streets. *Camille Desmoulins,* a young journalist and a regular guest at the Palais Royal, leaped upon a table in the gardens adjoining this meeting place of agitators and harangued the crowd: "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a massacre of the patriots. To arms! To arms!" By night the streets bristled with barricades against an eventual attack of the king's cavalry, and the crowds were sacking bakeshops for bread and gunshops for arms. Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels. The rest of the troops did practically nothing, and anarchy reigned in the capital. Some rude organization was introduced next day; new civic guards were formed by temporary city authorities. On the following day, July 14, *the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.*

537. The Bastille was a great "state prison," like the Tower in London. In it had been confined political offenders and victims of the "sealed letters" (§ 516). It was a symbol of

the old despotism and an object of detestation to the rebels. Though virtually impregnable, it was lamely defended by its small garrison. After a few hours the garrison surrendered on a promise of safety. The mob found no victims of tyranny, only seven criminals. Nevertheless, the hangers-on of the attacking force massacred the guards and paraded their heads on pikes through the streets.

FALL OF THE BASTILLE. — From an old print.

Out at Versailles Louis, who had retired early, was awakened to hear the news. "What! A riot, then?" said he. "No, Sire," replied the messenger, "a revolution." The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille (July 14) is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty.

The rising in Paris had encouraged the Assembly. The most hated courtiers fled from France. The king visited Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away the troops, accepted the *tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, as the national colors, and recalled Necker.

538. The Fall of the Bastille gave the signal for mob rule all over France. The officials of the government, abandoned by their assistants, unsupported by the king, betrayed by the soldiery, made no attempt to quell the riots. Peasants and bands of vagabonds plundered and demolished castles, seeking especially to destroy the court rolls with the records of their servile dues. Nobles that fell into their hands were ill treated or even killed. The poor peasants imagined the golden age had come and all taxes and hard labor would end. Each district had its carnival of plunder and bloodshed.

539. The Middle Classes Organize. — The king could not enforce the law: the machinery of the old royal government had collapsed. The Assembly did not dare to interfere, because astute leaders kept it in constant fear of the court, against which it might need the assistance of the mob.

But everywhere the middle classes organized locally against anarchy. In Paris, during the disorders of July 13 the electoral college of the city (the men who had elected the delegates of Paris to the Estates General) reassembled and assumed authority to act as Municipal Council. In other towns the same was done and in a few weeks France was covered with new *local governments composed of the middle class.* This was the easier, because in many cases the electoral colleges (§ 531), instead of breaking up after the election, had continued to hold occasional meetings during the two months since, in order to correspond with their delegates in the National Assembly.

The first act of the Paris council had been to order that in each of the sixty "sections" (wards) of the city two hundred men should patrol the streets to maintain order. This, or something like this, was done in all the districts of France. This new militia became permanent. It took the name of *National Guards*, and in Paris *Lafayette* became their commander. The Guards were recruited from the middle class or from former members of the French Guards. Before the middle

of August these new forces had restored some semblance of order.

540. Abolition of "Privilege." — Meantime, on the evening of August 4, the discussions of the Assembly were interrupted by the report of disorders throughout the country. The account stirred the Assembly deeply. A young noble who had served in America with Lafayette declared that these evils were all due to the continuance of the feudal burdens, and with impassioned oratory he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, the liberal nobles followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his class — game laws, dove cotes, rights to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions. The tithes, too, were to be done away with.

Each proposal was ratified with applause. Our American ambassador, Gouverneur Morris, was disgusted with the haste, and even Mirabeau complained: "Just like our Frenchmen; they are an entire month wrangling over syllables, and in one night they overturn the ancient order of the kingdom." And, indeed, apprehensions were justified. Nothing was gained for public welfare by announcing all at once the abolition of so many laws and forms of property. Agriculture and industry came almost to a standstill. The real evils of the moment, the weakness of the central government, the deficit in the treasury, and the lawlessness of the mob, were not remedied by such measures. In cooler moments, later on, the Assembly modified many clauses providing for a gradual redemption of feudal rights. One benefit, however, remained and was never undone: *Feudal burdens and legal inequalities in France were forever abolished in the night of August 4, 1789.*

541. Summary, May 5 to August 5. — In three months France had been revolutionized. The old three estates disappeared and the Third Estate successfully asserted its claim to represent the nation. The odious class distinctions were forever swept away. The local units of the country set up new

local governments and organized new citizen armies to serve them. An Assembly was at work upon a new constitution for the nation at large.

B. August, 1789, to September, 1791: The Assembly in Paris

542. The March of the Women, October 5. — The Assembly soon found that destruction was easier than construction. So far destruction had been the order of the day. Nothing had been done to relieve the distress of the country caused by the failure of the harvest (§ 535). Under these conditions it was easy for a new and terrible tyrant to mount the throne, the *Paris mob*. Numbers of it were always in Versailles, invading the hall where the sessions were held, applauding the radicals and hissing the moderates. As a consequence, the saner element in the Assembly decreased and the extremists, supported by the rabble, grew bolder. They had long been scheming to get the king and the Assembly to Paris, where they would not be in a position to refuse extreme demands. A banquet given at Versailles to a regiment of the royal bodyguard was exaggerated into a fresh plot against the Assembly and the people. It was reported that young officers had trampled upon the tricolor and had displayed instead the old white cockade of the Bourbon monarchy. Such tales were used to stir up the scum of the population, already suffering from hunger and hardship.

On October 5 a rabble of women, followed by the riffraff of the city, set out in a wild ragged rout to bring the king to Paris. Lafayette, who should have prevented it, permitted the mob to go on. In Versailles they invaded the Assembly. The king received a deputation of the mob and the members, did his best to pacify them, and sent them home. But the mob remained, and a terrible massacre was prevented only by the tardy arrival of Lafayette with his National Guards. Next morning the crowd

broke into the palace to find the queen. Her life was saved by the gallant self-sacrifice of some of her guards. The king finally yielded to the demands of the mob upon the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris,[1] — the rabble dancing with wild joy along the road before the royal carriage and shouting, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy." The king's brothers and many nobles left France in dismay. These "*Emigrants*" began now abroad to enlist the help of foreign courts for the restoration of the old régime in France.

543. The king and the Assembly were now completely at the mercy of the populace of the capital. The mob and agents hired by the Palais Royal (§ 535) came to the sessions and jeered and hissed from the galleries at the speakers whom they disliked. Sometimes, too, conservative deputies were attacked in the streets. Very soon nearly one fourth of the members withdrew from the Assembly and thus weakened still more the party of order and law.[2]

Political clubs, too, became a mighty power outside of the Assembly. The most important of these were the *Jacobins*, who took their name from the suppressed Dominican monastery of St. Jacques (St. James) where they held their meetings. In this Jacobin club the most radical politicians met to discuss measures to be put before the Assembly and to appoint agents who were to lead the crowd in the galleries and on the streets. Numerous offshoots of this Paris club soon overspread the land and advocated the cause of extreme democracy throughout

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[1] *Lafayette* earned the gratitude of America on account of the great services he rendered us in our struggle for liberty. But at this period he made several serious mistakes. However, he never approved of the excesses of the French Revolution.

[2] The King resided henceforth in the palace of the *Tuileries*. The Assembly established itself in a neighboring riding school.

France. There were other clubs, some radical like the Jacobins, some more moderate, but the former by their methods of threats and riots readily gained the upper hand.

544. Political Parties. — The Assembly divided itself gradually into definite political parties. (1) On the Speaker's right sat the *Extreme Conservatives* known from their position as the *Right*. They were reactionists and stood for the restoration of the old order. Most of the remaining nobles and of the higher clergy belonged to it. (2) Next to them sat the *Right-Center*. This party did not expect to restore the old order, but they did hope to prevent the Revolution from going any farther, and they wished to keep political power in the hands of the wealthy landowners and capitalists, to which class most of the prominent members belonged. Their ideal was the English constitution. (3) The *Left-Center*, the largest body, wished neither to restrict power to the very wealthy nor to extend it to the very poor, but to intrust it to the middle class (bourgeoisie). In this group sat Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Sieyès. Both parties of the Center advocated a constitutional monarchy. (4) The *Extreme-Left* comprised some thirty deputies who were imbued with the ideas of Rousseau and worked for a *republic*. They wished for manhood suffrage. In this group sat *Robespierre*. While the other parties constantly split on important issues, the Left-Center consisted of determined men who knew their own mind.

545. Mirabeau. — One man in the Assembly was really a party in himself. Mirabeau was a marvelous orator, a statesman of profound insight, and a man of dauntless daring. He never feared to oppose the mob if it clashed with his views, and he often won them to his side. But he lived a wild and dissolute life and so could not gain influence over some of the best elements of the Assembly. All his life he had been accustomed to sell his pen and his brain to the highest bidder, but now at the end of his career he was sincere and convinced in the advice he gave,

though he did not disdain to receive money from the court for his services.

Mirabeau was resolutely opposed to anarchy,[1] and he wanted a strong executive. After the "march of the women" he recognized that the danger to reform lay not so much in the king as in the mob. Thereafter he sought to preserve what remained of royal power and — to direct it. He wished the king to accept the changes in good faith, and to surround himself with a strong but moderate ministry chosen from the Assembly. As the mob grew more furious, he wished the king to leave Paris and to appeal to the provinces of France against the capital.

Marquis de Lafayette.

546. Flight of the King. — The king hesitated, and Mirabeau died (April 2, 1791), broken down by the strain of his work and by dissolute living. Then Louis decided to flee. His position had become well-nigh intolerable. He was especially uneasy over the constitutional changes affecting the position of the Church (§ 551) to which he had been forced to assent. He, therefore, resolved

[1] He once expressed his views in these striking words: "We are not savages from the banks of the Orinoco, come to set up a society. We are an ancient nation. . . . We have a preëxisting government, a preëxisting king, preëxisting prejudices. We must, as far as possible, adjust all these things to the Revolution and avoid violence of transition." The Assembly soon forgot this and acted as if, indeed, it were legislating for savages.

to escape, not to the interior of France, as Mirabeau had urged him, but to the eastern boundary, where loyal regiments were stationed. Besides, he built his hopes on his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold II, with whom the queen had negotiated. The plan nearly succeeded, but the king was recognized when almost within reach of the loyal regiments. The royal fugitives were brought back to Paris as prisoners (June 21, 1791).

547. This attempt led to another popular rising. This time the purpose was to force the Assembly to dethrone the king. A petition was drawn up demanding the establishment of the Republic, and crowds flocked from Paris to the Champ de Mars [1] to sign it. Some disorders occurred. For the first time the Assembly nerved itself to maintain order by force and sent Lafayette's guards to disperse the crowd. A few of the mob were killed.

This "*Massacre of the Champ de Mars*" (July 17) marks a sharp division between the mob and the middle class. For a time, the latter carried the day. In the next six weeks the victorious Assembly completed and revised its two years' work; and September 14, Louis, after reluctantly swearing to uphold the constitution, was restored to some semblance of his power.

C. The Constitution of 1791

548. A "Declaration of the Rights of Man" came first in the new constitution — after the example of the Bills of Rights in some of the American State constitutions. The Declaration had been put in form some months before as a completion of the "night of August 4" (§ 540).

It proclaimed, —

(1) Men are born equal in rights and remain so.

(2) Law is the expression of the will of all the people. Every citizen has a right to a share in making it; and it must be the same for all.

[1] An open space near the city where a great celebration of the fall of the Bastille had just been held.

And so on through a number of provisions. It made all Frenchmen equal before the law and equally eligible to public office. It abolished hereditary titles and confirmed the abolition of all special privileges. It established jury trial, freedom of religion and freedom of the press. The Assembly boasted that "it shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors," but in the meantime it was used by the worst oppressors to trample under foot every right of the best French citizens.

549. The State. — (1) The *Central Government* was made to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of one House. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures decided against him on any measure.[1] A new Assembly was to be chosen each second year. (2) *Local Government.* — The historic provinces with their troublesome peculiar privileges and customs were wiped from the map. France was divided into eighty-three "*departments*" of nearly equal size. The departments were subdivided into *districts* and the district was made up of "*communes*" (villages or towns with their adjacent territory). The map of France still keeps these divisions. Each department and district elected a "General Council" and an executive board or "Directory," without, however, giving them much authority. The forty thousand communes had each its elected Council and mayor. So much power was left to these communes that France under this constitution had been called "a loose alliance of forty thousand little republics." (3) The *Franchise* was not given to all, despite the Declaration of the Rights of Man. About one fourth of the men had no vote. A voter had to have enough property to pay taxes equal to three days' wages of an artisan. Then these "active citizens" of voters were graded further, according to their wealth, into three divisions. The

[1] The new American States had just begun to try another way to limit the old absolute veto — permitting a two thirds vote to override the President or governor. The French plan of a "suspensive" veto has been most popular in free countries in Europe.

first class could merely vote. The second class could hold office in communes and districts, and be chosen to electoral colleges. Only the third, and wealthiest, class was eligible for the higher offices. Thus political supremacy was secured to the middle class by two devices, — graded property qualifications, and indirect elections. Both these devices to dodge complete equality were used in the American States of that day. No American State had full manhood suffrage.

550. The Church. — The radical changes described above had undoubtedly a number of commendable features, but the immediate consequences were terrible. Disorder and confusion became general. After the complete collapse of the old administration (§ 539) the people ceased to pay taxes, and the new constitution was too violent a break with the past to work smoothly at once. In the meantime the government needed money, and taxes were not forthcoming. In this difficulty the Assembly bethought itself of the *rich property of the Church.*

We saw (§ 540) how the tithes were abolished in the "night of August 4." At that time no compensation was provided for the losers, the clergy. Soon the principle was put forward that all ecclesiastical property belonged, *not to the Church, but to the nation. Talleyrand,* an apostate bishop and member of the Assembly, proposed that the tithes and all church property should be put at the disposal of the state. After deducting the expenses for the maintenance of the clergy and the churches, the balance, he thought, would be enough to meet the financial needs of the government. In spite of vigorous protests the measure was passed in November, 1789. The lands of the Church were to be sold at once, but as few purchasers could be found, the government issued the "*assignats,*" a form of paper money, with the church lands as security. The revolutionary governments found this a very convenient way of meeting their obligations, and in the next seven years they issued about eight billion dollars in assignats. This overissue caused their

value to decline, until they sank to about one per cent of their face value. Ultimately they were repudiated.

551. The "Civil Constitution of the Clergy." — The Assembly went still further. In February, 1790, it declared all *vows of religious orders contrary to the spirit of liberty* and, therefore, *null and void.* The *monasteries* were *dissolved* and their inmates sent into the world. The suppression of so many religious institutions of men and women was a terrible blow to education and charitable work.

Finally the Assembly undertook to *reorganize the Church in France* according to revolutionary principles. It did this in a set of laws known as the "*Civil Constitution of the French Clergy,*" which formed part of the constitution of 1791. Henceforth there should be one bishop for each department. By this forty-eight bishoprics were at one stroke abolished. The bishop was to be appointed by the electors of the department and the parish priest by the district Councils (§ 549). No religious qualifications were required in the men who made the appointment, so that Catholics, Protestants, and infidels had a vote in the matter. As the church property had all been confiscated, the government undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. It is plain that this Civil Constitution violated the fundamental principles of the Church. All these radical changes were made without even consulting the Holy See. Moreover, the pope could never have agreed to the manner of appointing bishops and pastors provided by the new law; eventually it would have separated France from the Holy See. Such seems to have been the intention of those who framed the Constitution, for when speaking of the election of bishops they state explicitly: "*The new bishop may not apply to the Pope for any form of confirmation.*" [1]

Louis XVI, fearing that his refusal would only strengthen the

[1] Read the "Civil Constitution" in Robinson's Readings, Vol. II, p. 423.

extremists, at last reluctantly put his name to the Constitution. But the vast majority of the clergy objected. To break their resistance the Assembly decreed that every bishop and priest should take an *oath of allegiance* to the Civil Constitution under pain of expulsion from office. Only four of the bishops took the oath, while about one third of the lower clergy submitted to it, many of them without understanding the issue at stake. Pope Pius VI at first delayed action, hoping that the remedy would come from France itself, but in April, 1791, he publicly and solemnly condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The Assembly replied by annexing the papal territory of Avignon.

The few bishops who had submitted to the Constitution, among them Talleyrand (§ 550), rapidly ordained new priests to fill the places of those who refused the oath. Soon France, in addition to other calamities, suffered from a division in the Church. The clergy split into *jurors* and *non-jurors*, according as they took or refused the oath. Naturally the oath drove loyal Catholics into hostility to the Revolution. Henceforth the Church and the Revolution are implacable enemies, and the bitter memories of the conflict between religion and the democratic forces have survived the Revolution and exercised a *baneful influence on French politics throughout the nineteenth century.*

D. The Legislative Assembly to the War (September, 1791, to April, 1792)

552. Election of the Legislative Assembly. — Thus France had been made over in two years. The bulk of the nation accepted the result joyfully, with the exception of the laws affecting the Church. Most men believed that the Revolution was over. The moderate reformers very largely withdrew from active politics, and did not even vote at the next election.

On the other hand, the *extremists* were dissatisfied with the

restrictions on the franchise and with the *retention of the monarchy.* In their clubs, especially those of the Jacobins, they possessed an excellent political machinery with which they could strongly influence the elections. Moreover, they had the sympathy of the large class that had no vote; and in many cases these disfranchized citizens proved an important factor in the elections, terrorizing the more conservative elements by mob-violence.

553. Parties. — The *Constituent Assembly* had made its members ineligible to seats in the *Legislative Assembly,* where their political experience might have been of some value. The seven hundred and forty-five members of the Legislative Assembly were all new men. They were mostly young provincial lawyers and journalists. The real government rested with the clubs.

There was no party in the new Assembly corresponding to the old Right and Right-Center of the Constitutional Assembly (§ 544). The new Right corresponded to the old Left-Center. Its members were known as the *Constitutionalists,* because they wished to preserve the constitution as it was. Outside of the House this party was represented by *Lafayette,* who, since the death of Mirabeau, was the most influential man in France. In the Assembly this party counted about one hundred regular adherents, but, for a time, the four hundred members of the *Center,* or "*The Plain,*" voted with it on most questions. The Plain, however, was gradually won over to the more radical views of the *Left.*

This Left consisted of about two hundred and forty delegates, many of them connected with the Jacobin clubs. The greater part were to become known as *Girondists,* from the Gironde, the name of the department from which the leaders came. They wished a republic, but they were unwilling to use force to get one. They feared and hated the Paris mob, and they wished to intrust power to the provinces rather than to the

capital. The leaders were eloquent men, full of Rousseau's ideas, but very unpractical politicians.

The members of the *Extreme-Left*, known from the elevated seats in the rear of the hall of the legislature as the "*Mountain*," were mostly Jacobins, who worked for the overthrow of the monarchy, using every means, fair and foul, persuasion, intrigue, and violence.

554. War Clouds. — The Emigrants, breathing threats of invasion and vengeance, were gathering in arms on the *Rhine*, under the protection of *German princes*. They were drilling mercenary troops, and they had secret sympathizers within France. In the winter a plot to betray to them the great fortress of Strassburg all but succeeded. Thereupon the Assembly condemned to death all Emigrants who would not return before a certain date. The king vetoed the measure.

Louis XVI, in fact, found it impossible to give his hearty support to the new constitution. His conscience forbade this. Moreover, after his flight he was virtually a prisoner of the Assembly and the mob of Paris. To free himself from this intolerable situation, he and the queen began to *negotiate for foreign intervention*. The Emigrants worked for the same end. Leopold II, brother-in-law of the French king, was willing to do something in behalf of Louis and the queen, but hoped to avert war. Besides, he had little sympathy with the Emigrants, who cared nothing for France, but only for the restoration of their privileges, and whose dissolute conduct in exile often shocked every one.

On August 27, 1791, *Austria and Prussia* sent a note to the other powers, inviting them to joint interference in behalf of Louis XVI. But at the time no further steps were taken, as both Prussia and Austria were busy with the partition of Poland (§ 506). However, the note together with the threats and boast of the Emigrants on the Rhine produced strong indignation in the Assembly and helped to precipitate the war.

555. The Legislative Assembly welcomed the prospect of war. It demanded of the Emperor Leopold that he disperse the army of the Emigrants and that he refrain from interfering in French affairs. Leopold replied evasively, but in March, 1792, he died suddenly, and his successor Francis II assumed a more threatening attitude. Then the Assembly declared war against Austria and her ally, Prussia (April, 1792).

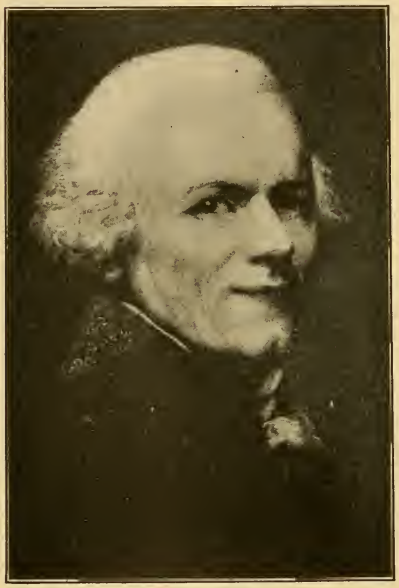
The *majority* of the Assembly was, in fact, *eager for war.* The moderate Constitutionalists expected war to strengthen the executive (as it would have done if the king had heartily coöperated with them), and they also hoped that it would increase their own power, since Lafayette was commander of the army. On the other hand, the Girondists and the bulk of the Assembly desired the overthrow of the monarchy. In war time, they reasoned, it will be easier to discredit the king with the masses and to represent him as a danger to the nation, because he will be suspected of negotiating with the powers. Louis was indeed corresponding with Austria, suggesting a " conference supported by an armed force as the best means of checking seditious parties and preventing the evil which affects us from reaching other states of Europe."

556. The only voices raised against the war were from the Mountain and its sympathizers in the Jacobin club. For they feared that the war would show the need of a strong executive and thus strengthen the monarchy. But, strangely enough, Girondists and Constitutionalists were to find their ruin in the war they so recklessly invited; while the three men most active in opposing the war — *Robespierre, Danton, and Marat* — were to be called by it to virtual dictatorship. With them and with the war the Revolution enters upon a new phase — of tyranny and bloodshed.

Marat was by profession a physician of some note. As a politician he was jealous and suspicious, and he seems to have become half-crazed in the turmoil of the Revolution. Already

in the early days of the Constituent Assembly he began to preach the assassination of all aristocrats. He is responsible for much innocent blood shed later on. Though sometimes capable of generous impulses, he seemed to know only one means to overcome opposition to his ideas — killing.

Robespierre before the Revolution had been a precise and vain young lawyer in a provincial town, Arras. He was an ardent admirer of Rousseau. As a deputy to the Constituent Assembly he came to Paris, joined the Jacobins, and became one of their leaders. He was narrow, dull, and pedantic, had none of the fiery eloquence of Mirabeau or Danton, yet he was more honest than either, never giving or receiving bribes, a rare thing among the revolutionary leaders. He dreamed of France as a glorious republic where should be neither rich nor poor, oppressors nor oppressed, where all would be simple, frugal patriots. In a latter stage of the Revolution he will not hesitate to hand over to the executioner his own associates.



ROBESPIERRE.

Danton, a Parisian lawyer, early became prominent in the radical clubs, and, next to Mirabeau, was the strongest man of the Revolution. He was well named "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." Of gigantic size and strength, gifted with a thunderous voice, he was a born leader of the mob. He had

no very definite ideas about the future of France, but when swift merciless action was needed, he was ready for the task. Part of the blame for the massacres of the Reign of Terror falls on him. He opposed the war because he saw how unprepared France was, and how unfit the leaders. But when it came, he brushed the leaders aside and himself helped to organize victory.

For Further Reading. — For the whole period compare Guggenberger, III, §§ 218–236. Belloc, *The French Revolution*, gives good sketches of the leading characters. In the last chapter, he has an admirable discussion of the antagonism between the Church and the Revolution. Mallet, ch. III–V, covers this period; he should be consulted on the causes leading up to the war. Mrs. Gardiner, *The French Revolution*, is among the best short histories of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REVOLUTION AT WAR

A. The War to the Fall of the Monarchy: June to September, 1792

557. The mob invades the Tuileries, June 20. — At the declaration of war the raw and undisciplined French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province), but were rolled back in defeat. As, however, Prussia and Austria were just then more interested in the approaching second partition of Poland (§ 506) the French were given a few weeks more for preparation before the storm broke. The reverses in Belgium gave the signal for some violent legislation. The Assembly decreed the deportation of all non-juring priests; it provided for the formation at Paris of a camp of twenty thousand selected troops, mostly desperate characters taken from the National Guards of the provinces. Louis vetoed these decrees and dismissed the Girondist ministry.

Despite the veto, a small camp was formed near Paris under the pretense of celebrating the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, in reality to overawe the king. Among these forces were six hundred men from Marseilles. They entered Paris, singing a new battle hymn, which afterwards was chanted on many a revolutionary battle field and which was to become famous as the "*Marseillaise.*"

The ringleaders, Girondists and Jacobins, now tried to force the king to sign the decree. On the anniversary of the Tennis Court Oath thousands of the rabble from the Paris slums marched howling and shrieking through the hall of the Assembly

and then invaded the Tuileries and broke into the royal apartments. The king faced the mob with great courage, spoke calmly to them, and to please them put on the red cap, the emblem of the Revolution; but to all demands for a recall of his veto he made firm refusal. By his quiet dignity he disarmed the rage of the mob, and finally they were persuaded to leave.

558. There followed an outburst of loyalty from the Moderates. — The king issued a dignified protest against these outrages. Lafayette, in command at the frontier, hastened to Paris, to demand punishment of the ringleaders and the closing of the Jacobin club. Though the middle classes were ready to rally about him, he failed mainly because the king would not trust him, but preferred to build his hopes for the restoration of order on foreign help. Lafayette returned to the army, and in Paris *the control of affairs passed rapidly into the hands of the Jacobins.*

559. France was girdled with foes. — *Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia* were in arms. *Naples and Spain* were soon to join. *Sweden and Russia* offered to do so if help were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier near Verdun; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion.

The French levies were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, they were utterly demoralized by the resignation of many officers in the face of the enemy and by the suspicion that many more of those remaining were not heart and soul in the cause.

Within France were royalist risings and widespread discontent. Everybody suspected, though only few knew it for certain, that the royal family was in secret correspondence with the enemy. Incapable of rallying and coöperating with the moderate elements, the helpless king relied on his brother

monarchs. This was a fatal mistake which a proud and sensitive people, like the French, would never forgive.

560. The Proclamation of Brunswick. — Unfortunately for the king, the Prussian commander, the *Duke of Brunswick*, unwittingly played into the hands of Louis' enemies. On July 25, 1792, he issued a proclamation to the French nation, declaring (1) that the allies entered France to put an end to anarchy and to restore the king to his rightful position, (2) that all men taken with arms in their hands should be punished as rebels, (3) that, if the least violence be offered to the royal family, he would "inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction." This stupid and arrogant document provoked an outcry of rage against the king and induced the Jacobins to act immediately.

561. The Second Invasion of the Tuileries, August 10. —A band of Jacobins, led by Danton, gathered at the city hall, arrested the Municipal Council (consisting chiefly of moderate men), and took the reins of the city's administration into their own hands. This new "*Commune of Paris*" prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for August 10. On the day appointed the mob surged from all sides toward the palace. The National Guards placed there at once abandoned their post, but the Swiss Guard of 900 men refused to give up their arms, and, when attacked, opened fire. The weak king sent an order to cease firing; they promptly obeyed. But the mob fell upon them and massacred them all, wounded and surgeons alike.[1] Louis, in the meantime, had fled from his own apartments into the Assembly. Thither the crowd followed him and demanded the king's instant deposition. The Assembly, two thirds of

[1] Their fidelity is commemorated by one of the most celebrated monuments in Europe, the so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland.

which had fled before the mob, deprived Louis of his functions and imprisoned him with the royal family in the *Temple*. Then they decreed the immediate election, by manhood suffrage, of a Constitutional Convention to frame a new government.

However, the Assembly was no longer master of the situation; the real power rested with the *Commune of Paris* in which sat Robespierre and other prominent Jacobins.

As the news of the king's imprisonment reached the army Lafayette tried to lead it against Paris. But he found the troops unwilling to follow him, and, to prevent his own arrest and probable execution, he placed himself in the hands of the Austrians.[1]

562. The September Massacres. — The Assembly, we have seen, had decided upon new elections. The Jacobins knew very well that the sentiment of the nation at large did not favor them and that they had to use threats and violence to win the elections. The Commune of Paris, wholly controlled by the Jacobins, made use of events at the front to further their schemes. The fortress of Longwy had fallen into the hands of the Prussians and Verdun was invested. The Jacobins shouted "treason," and Danton, as minister of justice, demanded permission from the Commune to search private houses for hidden arms. Few were found, but the real object, the arrest of anti-Jacobins, was fully attained and the prisons were filled to overflowing. A committee of the Commune then ordered the massacre of these prisoners. Hired assassins began the bloody work on September 2, and continued it for four days. Scenes of horrible butchery took place all over Paris. Thousands of persons were put to death without trial or proof of guilt, among them priests, women, and children. A circular sent by the Commune into the provinces brought about similar tragedies in Lyons, Versailles, Reims, and elsewhere. It is impossible

[1] Lafayette was cast into prison by the Austrians, to remain there until freed by the victories of Napoleon four years later.

to see what danger could have menaced the nation from these helpless prisoners. But the Jacobins achieved their object: the moderates were terror-stricken and sank into mute acquiescence in Jacobin rule. With these radicals must rest the responsibility for the awful deed; with Marat, who never ceased shrieking for the blood of "the aristocrats," with Danton, who, as minister of justice, was responsible for the prisoners, but instead of preventing the crime, loudly praised it: "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid."

B. Fall of the Monarchy: The Girondists, September, 1792, to June, 1793

563. The war, after August 10, for a while favored the French armies. The credit belongs chiefly to Danton, who strained every nerve to raise armies and drill recruits. The Allies had taken *Longwy* and *Verdun* (§ 562), but they proceeded with extreme caution. At *Valmy* they received their first check, — and retreated. Verdun and Longwy were retaken by the French, and the Allies were forced back across the Rhine. In the southeast *Savoy* and *Nice* were wrested from the king of Sardinia. Another French army crossed the upper Rhine and entered *Germany*. With great rapidity general *Dumouriez* overran the *Austrian Netherlands* after a brilliant victory at *Jemappes*. These successes called forth wild enthusiasm and a demand to spread the revolution beyond the boundaries of France. Frenchmen believed themselves intrusted with the mission of bringing liberty to other "oppressed nations." The first act of the new National Convention (§ 561) was to call upon all peoples to dethrone their monarchs and to set up new governments, based upon the principles of popular sovereignty proclaimed by Rousseau. France would aid them with her strong arm. On the other hand, she would treat all those as enemies who refused liberty.

But the Convention soon realized that war is expensive; it

therefore decreed that the financial burden should be transferred to the shoulders of the liberated nations. Thus it came to pass that the French armies, at first hailed as liberators by many, were soon considered an intolerable burden. Moreover the lawless revolutionary soldiery committed innumerable robberies, sacrileges, and murders in the conquered countries, especially in Belgium and on the Rhine. The disillusioned people quickly learned that liberty, as advocated by the revolutionists, was only a *cloak for the lust of plunder and conquest.*

564. The First Republic. — The new Convention met on September 21, 1792. The Jacobins had used every means to get deputies after their own heart; they succeeded so well in keeping the moderate element from the polls that only about six per cent of the adult male population cast their vote.

No Constitutionalists appeared in the Convention. The Girondists now sat on the Right; they seemed to have the support of the previous Plain and, indeed, of the whole Convention with the exception of the former Mountain. Among the latter party were now Marat, Robespierre, and Danton, with the deputies of Paris, and the organizers of the rising of August 10. In its first session the Convention declared the monarchy abolished, and established "*The French Republic, One and Indivisible.*"

565. The Execution of Louis XVI. — From the outset the Mountain was determined to take the life of the king, to make a reconciliation with the royalists impossible. Violence had brought them to power, and violence alone could keep them there. So they at once came forward with a demand for the trial of the king. The rest of the deputies would have preferred to save Louis' life, but they feared the charge of "royalism" and acquiesced. On December 11 the king, who since his imprisonment had suffered every kind of insult, was brought before the bar of the Convention and charged with "treason

to the nation." The debates were long and stormy. When it came to the decision the majority of the deputies, intimidated by the hired shouters in the galleries, voted "guilty." But in a second ballot the death sentence was passed by a majority of only one. The unfortunate king accepted his fate with calmness and dignity. After bidding farewell to his family he spent the time in preparing for the end. An Irish priest, Father Edgeworth, assisted him in his last moments. On January 22, 1793, Louis XVI met death amid the deep silence of the multitude. The Jacobins had taken care to prevent every demonstration.

Louis was not the man to guide France through the crisis through which she was passing, a crisis due more to the faults of his predecessors than to his own shortcomings. But in death he showed the qualities of a true Christian hero and a worthy scion of Louis the Saint.

566. Consequences. — Strained relations had for some time existed between England and the French revolutionary government. England felt herself threatened by the French invitation to revolt (§ 563) and by French designs upon Holland. The decree to annex Belgium and the execution of Louis XVI brought matters to a head. England dismissed the French ambassador, whereupon the Convention promptly declared war against *England* and *Holland*. *Spain* and *Portugal* joined the Allies. As Prussia and Austria were still in the field, the Convention was now at war with almost all Europe. The Emigrants proclaimed the imprisoned child of the executed king as Louis XVII. Things began to look dark for France. Dumouriez was defeated in Belgium. Disgusted with the mad government in Paris, he planned a march upon the capital. But his troops abandoned him and he went over to the Austrians. In Germany the French general Custine was driven back to the Rhine and, as punishment for his incapacity, put to death by the Convention.

567. Disunion at Home. — Meantime the Convention had framed a new constitution, an extremely democratic document. *But it never went into effect.* The Republicans declared that France was in danger and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until the war was over.

Within the Convention *bitter quarrels* arose between the *Girondists and the Mountain.* The latter was supported by the mob of Paris and the radical clubs. Outside the capital the Girondists were much stronger; hence they wished to remove the Convention from Paris and the control of the mob. The Mountain accused them of desiring to break the Indivisible Republic.

The crisis came in June, 1793. A revolutionary tribunal had been set up and the Girondists attempted to have Marat tried for inciting insurrection. Marat was acquitted through the influence of the mob. Later a Commission of Twelve was formed to try the Paris agitators. A street rising cowed the Convention into submission, but that body refused to eject the members of the Commission of Twelve (mostly Girondists).

568. Danton for some time tried in vain to reconcile the parties. The Girondists were mad enough to accuse him of royalist conspiracy. Then he turned savagely upon his assailants. "You were right," he cried to his friends of the Mountain who had urged action against the Girondists, "and I was wrong. There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them, and in spite of them."

The Mountain determined to act. It was weak in the Convention but strong in the galleries, in the streets, and, above all, in the Commune of Paris. The latter organized a rising against the Convention. On June 2 an armed crowd surrounded the Tuileries and held the deputies prisoners until they had passed a decree which put thirty of the leading Girondists under arrest. Other Girondists escaped into the provinces,

at the same time a parade of "delegates of the people," organized by Robespierre and Danton, declared *the Convention permanent.* Thus the *Mountain was left in sole power.* Danton, in an impassioned speech, proclaimed a *Reign of Terror* against all foes of the Republic.

C. The Reign of Terror, June, 1793, to July, 1794

569. Instruments of the Terror. — The Convention soon saw that so large and unwieldy a body could not cope with the various urgent problems and appointed from its midst a small executive body, the *Committee of Public Safety.* It consisted of twelve members, all from the Mountain, and for a while Danton was its leading spirit. *Carnot* had charge of military matters and by his tireless energy and real talent he became the "organizer of victory." Robespierre and Saint Just sought to direct political affairs and to realize their ideals, a republic after Rousseau's theories.

This Committee sent its representatives, the "*deputies on mission,*" to all parts of France to enforce obedience to its orders. Every ten days they had to report to the central committee; while "on mission" these deputies exercised despotic power, replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money and supplies "for national use" (frequently to fill their own pockets), arresting and condemning to death by their own courts. Two such deputies accompanied each of the armies of the Republic, with authority to arrest a general at the head of his troops. This was to secure energy in the conduct of the war and to prevent defections like those of Lafayette and Dumouriez.

The *Revolutionary Tribunal,* appointed by the Committee of Public Safety, with its sub-tribunals in the departments, had promptly to condemn the victims sent to it by the authorities.

The *Revolutionary Army* was organized by conscription to replace the mercenaries of the monarchy. It had its strong

garrisons in every city, for it was not only to repel foreign invasion but "to guard prisoners, arrest suspects, demolish castles, ransack vestries for gold and silver, and to strike every anti-Jacobin with physical terror."

570. Civil War. — Not all Girondists had been arrested. Those who escaped roused the provinces against the Jacobin capital. The citizens of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Caen took up arms against the Jacobins. Toulon, the naval harbor, even admitted an English fleet.

In the *Vendée* the opposition to the Jacobin rule was strongest. The population in this remote province on the mouth of the Loire river consisted of simple sturdy peasants who had looked with disfavor on the changes wrought by the revolution. The nobles were not hated there, but lived in patriarchal simplicity and familiarity with their tenants. Being thoroughly Catholic, these peasants were indignant at the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (§ 551) and stanchly refused to deal with any but non-juring priests. When the news of the execution of Louis XVI came their wrath knew no bounds. With the war cry "For Church and King," they flew to arms and under able leaders inflicted crushing defeats on the republican levies.

571. Carnot took energetic measures against enemies at the frontier and at home. He decreed a levy of the whole population. "All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition," said a proclamation of the Committee. "The Republic is one vast besieged city. . . . The young men shall go to battle; it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint; the old men shall have themselves carried into public places, and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young and preach hatred of the kings and unity for the Republic."

Soon fourteen armies were placed in the field. The Allies had again to retreat from the Rhine (§ 566) and French troops once more invaded Germany. Toulon was taken from the English.[1] Caen, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Vendeans suffered disastrous defeat.

572. Terror in the Departments. — Frightful was the vengeance taken on the vanquished. At Toulon people were slaughtered in heaps. Lyons was nearly razed to the ground and the population, by executions and exile, reduced by about one third. But the Vendée saw the most horrible excesses of revenge. *Carrier* at the head of a revolutionary tribunal put to death about 15,000 men, women, and children during the last three months of 1793. Over four thousand were drowned in the Loire. Next year twelve republican detachments, "columns of hell," entered the unfortunate province with orders to "exterminate the people and confiscate the lands." Accordingly, they killed every living thing that came in their way and destroyed entire towns and villages. No wonder that the peasants preferred to die with arms in their hands. Many escaped across the Loire, and the insurrection spread into Brittany, to be quelled only after the fall of the Terror.

573. The Terror in Paris. — In the capital the Revolutionary Tribunal reigned supreme. *The Law of Suspects,* passed in September, 1793, enabled it to try the most innocent persons under suspicion of unfriendliness to the Republic. To mourn over a victim of Jacobin cruelty, to show signs of attachment to the old Church, to refuse to accept the nearly worthless assignats, were capital crimes. Each day the Revolutionary Tribunal sent batches of victims to the guillotine.[2] The

[1] In the siege of Toulon a young officer of artillery by his skill and daring attracted the notice of his superior. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

[2] In former times it had been customary to behead victims with the sword. At the opening of the Revolution a certain Dr. Guillotin recom-

noblest of them was *Marie Antoinette*. Separated from her son and exposed to the brutality of her keepers, the former queen bore her sufferings with queenly dignity. After a disgraceful trial, in which her own little child was forced to testify against his mother, Marie Antoinette met her fate on October 16, 1793. Next year her son, "*Louis XVII*," succumbed in prison to the brutal treatment of Simon, a coarse cobbler, into whose custody he had been given.

Other victims were the imprisoned Girondist deputies (§ 568), non-juring priests, nobles, and people from all classes. The *Duke of Orleans*, who had intrigued against Louis XVI and voted for the king's death, now paid the penalty of his treachery.

574. War against Religion. — The Jacobins were determined to root out the past completely. Not only non-juring priests but also "constitutional priests" became their victims. The godless Republic had no use for them. No administration of any Sacrament was tolerated. To destroy every trace of Christian civilization the Convention replaced the Christian calendar by the Revolutionary Era. September 22, the day on which the Republic was declared, was the first day of the Year One. There followed twelve months of thirty days each, and then five days of revolutionary festivities. Each month was divided into three decades, and each tenth day was a holiday (in place of the Christian Sunday). All feasts of the Lord and the Saints were replaced by revolutionary festivals and anniversaries. The months were renamed after the seasons and the varying occupation of the peasant. During the last months of 1793 the Commune of Paris abolished the worship of God and the belief in the immortality of the soul. A "*goddess of reason*," in the person of a shameless woman, was enthroned on the high altar of the cathedral of Notre Dame in

mended a new device, which consisted of a heavy knife sliding downward between two uprights. This instrument, called after him, the guillotine, was swifter and surer than the sword in the hands of the executioner.

Paris; the other churches were closed and plundered. Similar blasphemous scenes were enacted in other cities of France.

575. Internal Strife. — The Jacobins had established their supremacy over all other parties by the Terror; but after some months they themselves broke up into factions. The Committee of Public Safety, led by Robespierre, continued to uphold the Terror, but outside the committee two hostile factions arose.

The Commune of Paris, controlled by the coarse and atheistic Hébert, had long dominated the Convention and its Committee, and was more than any other body responsible for the bloody excesses of the revolutionists as well as for the suppression of Christian worship. It now clamored for more blood and wished to reduce rich and poor to the same level by wholesale confiscations and to execute all opponents of such measures. Robespierre, fearing for his own ascendency in the committee, united the more moderate elements against the Hébertists. Twice before, the Commune had reversed the control of the national assembly by insurrection (§§ 561, 568). Now it tried it a third time, but failed; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his friends to the guillotine (March, 1794).

The leader of the moderate faction, who had aided Robespierre in crushing the Hébertists, was Danton, now the only man in France whose influence rivalled that of Robespierre. Danton was weary of bloodshed. For months he had been urging that "terror" was no longer needed, now that France was victorious without and tranquil within. One of Danton's friends, Camille Desmoulins (§ 537), started a witty newspaper to criticize the policy of the Committee, suggesting in its place a "Committee of Mercy" to bind up the wounds of France. In April Robespierre accused both men of "conspiracy" and "royalism" and sent them to death (April 5, 1794).

Danton's danger had been plain, and his friends urged him to strike first. "Better be guillotined than to do more guillo-

tining," he answered. He was disgusted with his own share in the Revolution. "I have served the Revolution only too well," he said at the trial, "and now life is a burden to me." When he heard his own death sentence he exclaimed prophetically, "Before three months are past the people will tear my accusers to pieces."

576. Robespierre, for the next three months, seemed sole master of France. — He thought the moment favorable to carry out some of his pet ideas. He abolished the "worship of reason" and at his request the Convention decreed the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. He never tired of preaching his "virtue" and "patriotism" and of discoursing on his impractical ideals. In the meantime the Terror increased. A decree of the Convention abolished all formal trials so that the Tribunal had merely to pronounce sentence over the victims furnished to it by Robespierre. The latter had in his pay an army of spies whose activity spared neither friend nor foe. Finally the Convention trembled for its own safety. Robespierre's enemies, former Dantonists and Hébertists, conspired against him. July 26 he hurled threats at them without, however, naming any one. The conspirators saw that they had to act quickly. Next day, when he began to speak, he was interrupted with shouts of "Down with the tyrant." The Convention arrested him; but his friends in the Commune rescued him and brought him to the city hall and then tried to create a rising in his favor. They failed. The populace was sick of bloodshed. An armed force brought him back to the Convention. Quickly he was tried and executed with a hundred followers (July 29, 1794).

577. The "Terror" now came to an end, and some extreme laws were repealed. In December, encouraged by the reaction against the radicals, the fugitive members of the Right once more appeared in the Convention, and the following March even the survivors of the expelled Girondists were admitted.

The Jacobins, trembling for their power and lives, roused the mob of Paris in a desperate attempt to check the reaction; but the middle classes rallied, dispersed the mob by troops and by organized bands of wealthy young men, the "gilded youth."

The mob was disarmed, the National Guards reorganized, and there followed all over France a violent reaction, the "*White Terror*," wherein many hundreds of the Jacobin party were executed or assassinated. The radical clubs were closed, and the Committee of Public Safety was dissolved.

For Further Reading. — See Guggenberger, III, §§ 237–261. Carlyle's *French Revolution* contains most brilliant descriptions, but is inaccurate and antiquated. On the Vendean Rising see Hill, *The Story of the War in La Vendée and the Little Chouanerie*. See work mentioned in the previous chapter. Belloc especially should be consulted on the various phases of the war. A valuable work, especially for a study of the influence of the Revolution on Europe, is Rose, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE DIRECTORY, 1795–1799

A. Ascendency of Middle Class

578. A new "Constitution of the Year III" (1795) replaced the constitution of the Year I (§ 567) and confirmed the middle-class rule. The government established by this document is called "*The Directory.*" This was the name of the executive, which consisted of a committee of five, chosen by the legislature. The legislature consisted of two Houses. Property qualifications for voting were restored.

579. The Last Insurrection. — The new constitution was submitted to a popular vote, but before the vote was taken, at the last moment, the expiring Convention decreed that two thirds of its members should hold over as members of the new Assembly. This clause was submitted to the people, along with the constitution, and was practically made a condition of the latter. It was carried by a small majority, while the constitution was adopted by an overwhelming vote. In Paris the secret Royalists took advantage of the dissatisfaction to stir up revolt. They were joined by twenty thousand National Guards. The better classes and the National Guards rose against the clause that practically perpetuated the Convention. The Directory was in terror. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the Convention hall and mowed down the attacking columns with grapeshot (October 5, 1795). The Directory remained in power for four years. The chief interest for this period centers

in the rise of the young officer who had saved to the old republicans their seats in the new legislature. *His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.*

B. The Rise of Napoleon

580. In 1795, when the government of the Convention was merged in the Directory, France had already made great gains of territory. On the northeast, *Belgium* had been annexed, with the vote of its people, an act which the Belgians soon bitterly regretted (§ 563). *Nice* and *Savoy,* on the southeast, had been added, in like manner. The eastern frontier had been moved to the *Rhine,* by the seizure of all the territory of the Empire on the west side of the river. *Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally, as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.

Napoleon at Arcola, in a critical moment in his Italian campaign. Painting by Gros.

581. Bonaparte in Italy. — The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously, both in Germany and Italy.[1] Two splendid armies were sent to Germany, and a small, ill-supplied

[1] Austria at this time held a considerable part of northern Italy (§ 482).

force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. But while the two armies in Germany were utterly defeated, the wonderful genius of the young general (then twenty-seven years old) made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war. By rapid movements he separated the Austrian and Sardinian forces, beat the latter in five battles in eleven days, and forced Sardinia to conclude peace. Turning upon the brave but deliberate Austrians, he won battle after battle, and by July he was master of Italy. Austria, however, clung stubbornly to her Italian provinces; and during the following year, four fresh armies were sent from the Rhine to the Po, only to meet destruction. In October, 1797, Austria agreed to accept *Venice* from Bonaparte, in exchange for *Lombardy* and *Belgium*, which she had lost, and war on the continent closed with the Peace of *Campo Formio*.

582. To the Italians Bonaparte posed as a deliverer, and his large promises awoke in the peninsula the hope of new national life. Aristocratic Genoa became the *Ligurian Republic*, and the Po valley was made into the *Cisalpine Republic*, to which Bonaparte added the northern part of the Papal States. Napoleon swept away serfdom, the privileges of the nobles, and the forms of the old-fashioned Austrian government. He introduced civil equality and some political liberty. At the same time, however, with amazing perfidy, Napoleon tricked the independent state of Venice into war, seized it with a French army, and afterward coolly bartered it away to Austria.

Upon even the friendly states Bonaparte levied enormous contributions, to enrich his soldiers and officers, to fill the coffers of France, and to bribe the Directory. His proclamation upon taking command of the army of Italy had been significant of much to come: —

"Soldiers, you are starving and in rags. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I will lead you into the most fruitful plains of the world. Teeming provinces,

flourishing cities, will be in your power. There you may reap honor and glory and wealth."

Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts Bonaparte ravished from Italian galleries and libraries, and sent them to Paris, to gratify French vanity. When the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate cruelty.

583. Napoleon Bonaparte. — The Italian campaign first showed Napoleon Bonaparte to the world. He was born in Corsica in 1769. His parents were Italians, poor, but of noble descent. In the year of Napoleon's birth Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began, he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (§ 571) and, chancing to be in Paris at the time of the rising against the Directory, in 1795, he had been called upon to defend the government. In reward he was given, the next year, the command of the "Army of Italy."

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of history. He was also one of the greatest civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," and his success was largely due to his wonderful grasp of a mass of details, — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling; but he was utterly unscrupulous, and he deliberately rejected all bonds of the moral law. "Morality," he said, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His generalship lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of movement, and in massing his troops against some weak point of his adversary. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins

his victories with our legs." Moreover, the French army was superior to any army in Europe. Elsewhere military office came by birth or by purchase. In the Revolutionary armies of France, it came by merit and genius. All Napoleon's great lieutenants had risen from the ranks. One of his most dashing generals (Jourdan) had been a tailor; another (Murat), a waiter. Napoleon always cherished this democratic character of the army. "Every soldier," he said, "carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack."

In early life Bonaparte may have been a sincere Republican; but he learned to despise the anarchy and disorder of the Revolution, and, before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the army's earlier ardor for the Republic into a passion for military glory and plunder. He became the idol of the soldiery, and then used the military power to overthrow the civil authority.

Before Campo Formio he had said to a friend, "Do you suppose I conquer for the lawyers of the Directory? Do you think I mean to found a Republic? What an idea! . . . The nation wants a head, a chief illustrious for great exploits; it does not care for theories of government. . . The French want glory. As for liberty, of that they have no conception. . . . I am everything to the army. Let the Directory try to take the command from me, and they will see who is master."

584. Bonaparte in Egypt. — After the Peace of Campo Formio Napoleon returned to Paris. He at once perceived that France was not yet ready to accept him as ruler; the hatred for the monarchy was still too violent. He saw, too, that he would sacrifice his prestige if he lived quietly like an ordinary person. As England alone was still at war with France, he asked the Directory to send him to Egypt, as a step toward attacking England's power in India. He had still another reason for undertaking the expedition. France was on the

eve of new war with the continental powers. He hoped that during his absence the Directory would find itself so embarrassed that he might return as the only man who could save France, and thus it fell out.

In 1798 he sailed with a select army to Egypt. He won a series of brilliant battles there; but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under Nelson, in the Battle of the Nile, and his dreams of conquests in India faded away.

585. Bonaparte Overthrows the Directory. — During Napoleon's absence the war had been renewed. In 1798 the Directory had brought about a change in the government of Switzerland and had organized that country as the Helvetic Republic after the pattern of the French Republic. Then it attacked the pope. Bonaparte, in its opinion, had dealt too leniently with him when he annexed papal territory to the Cisalpine Republic (§ 581). The Republic entertained a mortal hatred against Pius VI, who had committed the " crime " of protesting against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and received French exiles. A riot in Rome, purposely excited by the French ambassador, gave the Directory a pretext to march upon Rome (February, 1799). *The Roman Republic* replaced the Papal States and the aged and sickly Pius VI was brutally carried off to France where he died shortly after. The Directory, then, carried out the usual Republican program of robbery and confiscations. Other Italian rulers were similarly dispossessed and their states changed into Republics. The Great Powers of Europe were alarmed at these measures. England succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition; but the fortunes of war did not favor France.

Bonaparte heard of these reverses and judged the time opportune for his plans. He deserted his doomed army in Egypt and escaped to France, and the French people welcomed him as a savior.

The Directory had proven itself disgracefully corrupt. Each

of three years in succession — 1797, 1798, 1799 — the elections had gone against it; but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*,[1] or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting. Now Bonaparte used a *coup d'état against the Directory*. His troops purged the legislature of members hostile to his plans; and a remnant, made up of Bonaparte's adherents, abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two others as *Consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred the French people accepted the *constitution* (§ 587) that virtually made Bonaparte dictator. France was not really ready for the freedom she had so unexpectedly won by revolution. Anarchy and terrorism had so far been the only results of the great upheaval. There was needed a Bonaparte or some other military chief to bring order out of chaos.

[1] Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to infractions of the constitution by some part of the government through the use of force. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (§ 441) was something of the sort. The coming century was to see many a *coup d'état* in France; and like phenomena have been common in other European countries.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE CONSULATE, 1799–1804

586. Marengo and Hohenlinden. — Bonaparte's first work as consul was to defeat foreign foes. In 1800 he won the great battle of *Marengo* over the Austrians in Italy, and General Moreau crushed another Austrian army in Bavaria at *Hohenlinden.* Austria and Russia made peace; and two years later **the Peace of Amiens** (1802) closed the war between France and England. For a brief period, the world was free from war. Napoleon appeared a conqueror, with dazzling victories, and also the restorer of the long-desired peace.

587. The Consulate was confirmed by the Constitution of the Year VIII (1800). The government was to *rest on manhood suffrage,* but that suffrage was to be "*refined by successive filtrations.*" The adult males, some five million in all, were to choose one tenth their number; the five hundred thousand "Communal Notables," so chosen, were in turn to choose one tenth *their* number; these fifty thousand "Departmental Notables" were to choose five thousand "National Notables."

But all this voting was only to settle *eligibility.* **The executive was to appoint** communal officers at will out of the Communal Notables, departmental officers out of the Departmental Notables, and members of the legislature and other chief officers out of the National Notables.

The legislature was to be broken up into *four* parts: a *Council of State* to prepare bills; a *Tribunate* to discuss them, without right to vote; a *Legislative Chamber* to vote upon them, without right to discuss; and a *Senate,* with power to veto.

EUROPE AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIA
EMPIRE OF
TURKISH EMPIRE
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
SWITZERLAND
BAVARIA
SAXONY
ITALY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
STATES OF THE POPE
REPUBLIC OF ETRURIA
CISALPINE REPUBLIC
LIGURIAN REPUBLIC
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
BATAVIAN REPUBLIC
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
MALTA (To Eng.)
GIBRALTAR (To Eng.)
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
CHANNEL IS.
LONDON
PARIS
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
COPENHAGEN
BERLIN
VIENNA
Danzig
Königsberg
Riga
Vilna
Warsaw
Posen
Breslau
Dresden
Prague
Cracow
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
Cologne
Frankfort
Munich
Innsbruck
Budapest
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Nice
Florence
Ancona
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Marseilles
Toulon
Lyons
Bordeaux
Avignon
Barcelona
Saragossa
Madrid
Valladolid
Oporto
Lisbon
Valencia
Cadiz
Algiers
Tunis
Ajaccio
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
Wallachia
Bucharest
Transylvania
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Odessa
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Constantinople
Smyrna
Scutari
Montenegro
Corfu
Ionian Is.
Morea
Chios
Candia
Moscow
Smolensk
Kief
Volga R.
Oka R.
Dwina R.
Niemen R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Po R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Tarifa Pt.
C. St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Gulf of Finland
Peipus L.
The Naze
Skager
Klie R.
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Lake Peipus
Lake Wener
Lake Wetter
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Como
Lake Garda
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Orta
Lake Iseo
Lake Trasimeno
Lake Bolsena
Lake Bracciano
Lake Albano
Lake Nemi
Lake Fucino
Lake Lesina
Lake Varano
Lake Trebinje
Lake Scutari
Lake Ochrida
Lake Prespa
Lake Janina
Lake Vistonis
Lake Bistonis
Lake Koronia
Lake Beyshehr
Lake Tuz
Lake Van
Lake Urmia
Lake Aral
Lake Baikal
Lake Ilmen
Lake Peipus
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Lake Wener
Lake Wetter
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Como
Lake Garda
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Orta
Lake Iseo
Lake Trasimeno
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Lake Lesina
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Lake Scutari
Lake Ochrida
Lake Prespa
Lake Janina
Lake Vistonis
Lake Bistonis
Lake Koronia
Lake Beyshehr
Lake Tuz
Lake Van
Lake Urmia
Lake Aral
Lake Baikal
1772-1794
1772-1794
1772-1794
1792
1798
1798
1790
1802
L. L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

Sieyès, who planned this constitution, had intended to break up the executive in like manner into one Consul for war, another for peace, and a "Grand Elector" who should appoint the Consuls and other great officials, but should then have no part in the government. Here Napoleon intervened. He was willing to accept a system of elections that never elected anybody, and a legislature that could not legislate; but he changed the shadowy "Grand Elector" into a *First Consul*, with all other parts of the constitution subject to his will.

Bonaparte became First Consul. His colleagues, as he put it, were "merely counselors whom I am expected to consult, but whose advice I need not accept." Directly or indirectly, he himself filled all offices, and no law could even be proposed without his sanction.

588. Local administration was highly centralized. For each department Napoleon appointed a Prefect, and for each subdistrict a Subprefect. Even the forty thousand mayors of towns and villages were appointed by the First Consul or by his agents, and held office at his will; "nor did there exist anywhere independent of him the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village in France."

This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. But, in the long run, the result was to be unspeakably disastrous. The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen by sharing in the local government, was lost; and the willingness to depend upon an all-directing central power was fixed even more firmly than before in their minds.

589. Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Jacobins were welcomed to office and favor, and a goodly number of these "heroes of liberty" became servile tools of the new despotism. Royalist emigrants, too, were permitted to return to France, but many of them refused to associate with the upstart Bonaparte.

The First Consul, then, set to work to reconcile the Catholics to his régime. Personally indifferent to all religions, Bonaparte was too shrewd not to realize that he could not reëstablish civil order without the Catholic religion which the majority of Frenchmen professed. He opened, therefore, negotiations with Pope Pius VII. He had previously paved the way by acknowledging the independence of the Papal States. After prolonged debates a new arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in France was agreed upon between Bonaparte and the Holy See. This was the famous *Concordat* which, substantially, remained in force till 1905 (§ 767). The free and public exercise of the Catholic religion was guaranteed, subject, however, to such police regulations as public safety, in the judgment of the government, might demand. The bishops were to be nominated by the Consul, and the pope was formally to install them. The exiled non-juring bishops as well as the constitutional bishops were to resign and new ones were to be appointed. For the sake of peace Pius VII did not insist on the restoration of the confiscated church property, and Bonaparte pledged himself to make suitable provision for the maintenance of the clergy. The old Republicans fiercely opposed this peace with the pope, and, to pacify them, Napoleon published, together with the Concordat, a series of "*organic articles*," designed to put the Church completely under control of the state.

590. The work of the Convention of '93 had been dropped by the Directory. Some parts of it were now taken up again. *Public education* was organized; corruption and extravagance in *the government* gave way to order and efficiency; *law* was simplified; and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

591. The Code of 1804. — This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration,

swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code.

This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation of the law of the State of Louisiana. Napoleon himself

Arch of Triumph, Paris, commemorating Napoleon's victories.

declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever."

592. The material side of society was not neglected. The depreciated paper money (§ 550) was restored to a sound basis, and industry of all kinds was encouraged. Paris was made the most beautiful city of Europe, and it was given an excellent water supply. The narrow streets were widened into magnifi-

cent boulevards; parks and public gardens were provided; while here and there rose triumphal arches and columns. Roads, canals, and harbors were built, and old ones were improved. And, chief of all, the economic gain of the peasants in the Revolution (§ 540) was preserved. The peasantry were landowners, free from their old burdens; and workmen secured two or three times the wages they had received ten years before. Under such conditions the people displayed new energies, and, with the establishment of quiet and order, they quickly built up a vast material prosperity.

In short, Napoleon destroyed *political liberty;* but he preserved *equality before the law*, along with the economic gains from the Revolution to the working classes. The burden of taxation was made to rest with fair justice upon all classes. The peasant paid not four fifths his income in taxes, as before the Revolution, but about one fifth; and he got much more in return than before.

593. In all this reconstruction the controlling mind was that of the First Consul. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. Bonaparte knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habits of thought."

But the benefits that Bonaparte conferred upon France were the work of a beneficent despotism, not of a free government. He worked as a Joseph II (§ 504) of greater ability might have done. Bonaparte was the last and greatest of the benevolent despots; and it was soon plain that he meant to seize the outer trappings of royalty as well as its power.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE FRENCH EMPIRE

A. The Government of Napoleon

594. "Napoleon I." — In 1802 Bonaparte had himself elected Consul for life with the right to appoint his successor. He set up a brilliant court, with all the forms of monarchy, and purged the constitution of its democratic features. Moreover, several conspiracies, partly engineered by Bonaparte's secret police, gave him the opportunity to remove dangerous rivals. Then, in 1804, he obtained the vote of the nation declaring him "*Emperor of the French.*" On December 2 he solemnly crowned himself at Paris as the successor of Charlemagne, in presence of Pope Pius VII. The latter had, after much hesitation, consented to be present at the ceremony, in the hope of promoting the interests of religion in France, and especially of obtaining the recall of the "organic articles" (§ 589). But his hopes were disappointed.

595. Napoleon always claimed that he ruled by the will of the people; and each assumption of power was given a show of approval by a popular vote, the plebiscite. But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question framed by the master. The results of a No could never be foreseen; and it was not hard so to shape the question that men would rather say Yes than risk the unknown consequences of saying No. The nation had no share at any stage in shaping the question upon which it was to vote; and even the vote was controlled largely by skilful coercion.

There, can, however, be no doubt that the large majority of

Frenchmen favored the new monarchy. It assured them peace at home after the turmoil of the First Republic, and it flattered their national vanity by its victories abroad. The plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism, but it catered in a measure to the revolutionary principles by securing the consent of the nation. Said Napoleon: "The first representative of the nation is the Emperor; for all authority is derived from God and the nation. . . . All authority is vested in the Emperor, since by the will of God he is the sole representative of the Sovereign People."

596. Personal liberty was no longer safe. Napoleon maintained a network of secret police and spies, and he sent thousands of men to prison or into exile by his mere order. The press was subjected to stern and searching censorship. No book could be published if it contained opinions offensive to the Emperor, even in matters only slightly related to politics.[1] Newspapers were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects." They were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagreeable to France," and in political matters they were allowed to print only such items as were furnished them by the government.

Moreover, they were required to praise the administration. "Tell them," said Napoleon, "I shall judge them not by the evil they say, but by the good they do not say." Even the schools were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." Religion, too, was pressed into service. Every village priest depended, directly or indirectly, upon Napoleon's will, and was expected to inculcate loyalty to the Emperor. A catechism was devised expressly to lay stress on the duties of the people to Napoleon.

[1] Madame de Staël was not allowed to say that the drama of *Iphigenia* by the German Goethe was a greater play than the work of the French Racine upon the same plot.

B. The Wars of Napoleon

597. The Empire meant war. In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. Europe, he declared, needs a single leader, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among his lieutenants. He felt, too, that victories and military glory were needful to keep the French nation from murmuring against his despotism. Moreover, other nations realized that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions war soon broke out afresh. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and *there was no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall* (1815). During the next eleven years Napoleon also *fought several continental coalitions in which he met Austria three times and Russia and Prussia twice.* He also engaged in a long war with *Spain* and in various minor conflicts.

The wars we have so far studied, from 1792 to 1802, belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Though Bonaparte played the principal part in bringing them to a successful issue, they were not of his making. But the struggles from 1803 to 1815 are Napoleonic wars, due primarily to the reckless ambition of one great military genius. Among the opponents of Napoleon *England holds the first place,* not indeed on the battle field, but in the councils of his enemies, whom she supported indirectly by her control of the seas and directly by her vast financial resources.

598. Ulm, Trafalgar, and Austerlitz. — On the breaking out of war with England Napoleon prepared a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Boulogne on the English Channel. England trembled for her insular safety, but suddenly Napoleon ordered his vast army to the eastern front. Austria and Russia (under Tsar Alexander I) had concluded an alliance with England and, thinking the moment favorable, had opened

hostilities. With marvelous rapidity Napoleon rushed his contingents to the Danube and, before his designs were guessed, he completely surrounded an Austrian army at *Ulm*.

THE VENDÔME COLUMN. — Made from Russian and Austrian cannon captured in the Austerlitz campaign. The figures on the spirals represent scenes in that campaign, and upon the summit, 142 feet high, stood a statue of Napoleon. The name Vendôme comes from the name of the public square. Students of ancient history will naturally compare this column with Trajan's (*Ancient World*, § 622).

But a few days later the news of serious disaster reached him. The British Admiral *Nelson* had met Napoleon's fleet off *Cape Trafalgar* (near Cadiz) and destroyed it. If Napoleon had still cherished the idea of an invasion of England, it was now shattered forever. Undeterred, however, by this disaster the French emperor pushed ahead into the very heart of Austria and entered *Vienna*. Thence he turned north into Bohemia, met the combined Austrian and Russian armies at *Austerlitz* (December 2, 1805) and won over them one of his most brilliant victories. Austria was forced to a humiliating peace, in which she surrendered her territory in Italy (§ 581), the Tyrol, and a few minor possessions.

599. Prussia and Russia. — After the Austerlitz disaster *Russia* continued the war. She found a new ally in *Prussia*. The latter had ever since 1795 observed an inglorious neutrality,

but now, by Napoleon's double-dealing, was forced into war. At first he had kept her out of a coalition with England by a promise of Hanover, then still under the sovereignty of the king of England. Now, without consulting the Prussian government, he offered Hanover to England in exchange for Sicily. The Prussian people were, moreover, aroused by the treacherous seizure and execution of a peaceful citizen, who had published a pamphlet against Napoleon, and by violations of Prussian territory on the part of the French troops. It was the people who forced the government into a declaration of war. But no Frederick the Great commanded the Prussian army. At *Jena* Napoleon inflicted a decisive defeat upon it (October 14, 1806). Berlin was speedily taken and the Prussian king forced to flee eastward. There his army was joined by his belated Russian ally. Napoleon followed through snow and ice on almost impassable roads. After a bloody but indecisive battle at Eylau the French won a complete victory at *Friedland* in the following June. Alexander then decided to make peace.

600. The Peace of Tilsit, 1807. — Napoleon dealt harshly with Prussia while he demanded hardly any sacrifices from Russia. Thenceforth the western boundary of Prussia was to be the Elbe river. Her former territory to the west of that river was erected into the *Kingdom of Westphalia* and given to Napoleon's brother *Jerome*.[1] In the east, Prussia had to cede what she had acquired in the second and third partitions of Poland (§ 506) out of which Napoleon created the *Duchy of Warsaw* for his ally, the king of Saxony. Heavy indemnities and the continued support of strong French garrisons reduced Prussia to abject helplessness.

[1] Jerome had lived in Baltimore, where in 1803 he contracted a lawful marriage with a Miss Patterson. Later he abandoned her, and returned to France. Pius VII refused to annul his American marriage. Napoleon then annulled it and ordered his brother to marry a German princess.

601. The Continental System. — The young Tsar Alexander in a personal meeting at Tilsit was so impressed by Napoleon's genius that from an enemy he became a friend and ally. France, it was agreed, was to rule western Europe; Russia might aggrandize herself at the expense of Sweden and Turkey, and the two Powers were to unite against England to ruin that country by shutting off her commerce from the continent.

After Trafalgar there was little chance for Napoleon to crush his most persistent antagonist by invasion. A scheme to add the Danish fleet to his own failed, because the British struck first. A powerful British squadron appeared, without declaration of war, before Copenhagen, bombarded the city, and carried off the Danish fleet. Denmark, thereupon, threw herself into Napoleon's arms. The "*Continental Blockade*," which Napoleon then established, closed all ports of France and allied countries to English commerce. Napoleon stirred French scientists into desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the products shut out from the continent. To some extent they succeeded. Thus, for instance, when the English cruisers prevented the importation of West-India cane sugar, it was discovered that sugar could be made from the beet, and the raising of sugar-beets became a leading industry of France.

This "*Continental System*" did inflict damage upon England, but it carried greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. It affected the personal comfort of millions. Smuggling, bribery, evasions of every sort, practiced or connived at by officials high and low, not excepting Napoleon's brothers, rendered it unavailing. At times even the French armies had to be clothed in English goods, and in 1812 they marched into Russia in English shoes. England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coast of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures both France and England ignored the rights of

neutral states; *and one result was the War of* 1812 *in America* — a story that does not need telling here.

On the other hand, Napoleon's attempts to enforce the blockade led him from one high-handed measure to another, until Portugal and Russia rose against him, and so gave Central Europe another chance to win freedom (§§ 610–613).

602. The Peninsular War. — *Portugal* refused to confiscate English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon proposed to Spain a division of Portugal, a promise he never intended to keep, marched his armies through Spain into Portugal, and occupied that country. Shortly afterward, profiting by a family quarrel in the royal house of Spain, he *deposed the Bourbon dynasty* there and placed his own brother *Joseph* on the Spanish throne. But the proud and patriotic Spaniards rose against the tyrant. Here Napoleon had to deal with a new force. Hitherto he had warred against *governments*, and had dictated peace when the rulers were in his power; now, for the first time, he had to fight with a *people* in arms. As usual he won several brilliant victories. But they merely transferred the struggle from one quarter to another. Organized bands under independent leaders attacked the French wherever they found them. The War in the Peninsula was a severe strain on his resources. England seized the opportunity, too, and sent

NAPOLEON toward the close of his rule.

supplies and an army under her best general, *Arthur Wellesley* (later *Duke of Wellington*), to support the peninsular revolt. The struggle continued to the end of Napoleon's career. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

603. The War of 1809 with Austria. — The rising of the Spaniards encouraged the emperor of Austria, Francis I, to attempt the recovery of his lost possessions (§ 598) and to extricate himself from his perilous position between two powerful foes, France and Russia. On April 6, 1809, he declared war. The people of Austria answered his appeal with eager enthusiasm, but the rest of the German states kept aloof. Only the faithful Tyrolese mountaineers under the leadership of the noble peasant, Andreas Hofer, rose to fight for reunion with their beloved Hapsburg rulers. Napoleon's military genius, however, speedily crushed these newly awakened hopes for liberty. In a series of encounters he forced his way down the Danube and again entered the city of Vienna. Meantime the scattered Austrian detachments had gathered in Bohemia under Archduke Charles. They then advanced towards Vienna. In the battle of *Aspern*, just opposite Vienna, Napoleon suffered his first defeat, though he retired in good order (May 22). The hopes awakened in his enemies by this victory forced Napoleon to exert himself to the utmost. On July 6 the great armies met once more on the plains of *Wagram*, and after a desperate struggle the French won the day. In the peace of Vienna Austria lost more territory. Parts of her Polish province of Galicia went to Saxony and to Russia. Her entire Adriatic coast was formed into a new state, the Illyrian Provinces, with a French marshal as sovereign. The brave Tyrolese continued the hopeless fight for some time, only to be completely defeated and enslaved. Their leader, Hofer, was treacherously captured and shot.

604. Napoleon's Divorce. — The proud conqueror then inflicted another humiliation on the Hapsburgs by his demand for

the hand of *Maria Louisa*, the daughter of Francis I. Napoleon was anxious for an heir to perpetuate his dynasty. His first wife, Josephine, had borne him no children. He therefore pretended to have scruples about the validity of his marriage. The only authority competent to give a decision in the matter was the pope, at that time a prisoner of Napoleon (§ 605). The emperor did not wish to submit the question to such an impartial tribunal, but instead laid the case before a court of servile ecclesiastics in Paris, who slavishly complied with the wishes of the tyrant and pronounced his union with Josephine null and void, because he had not married her before the proper witnesses.[1] The marriage with Maria Louisa was then solemnly performed in the church of Notre Dame in Paris. The Catholic Church of course cannot be held responsible for the complaisance of a few state-controlled ecclesiastics. This union of the revolutionary upstart with a princess of one of the oldest houses of Europe marks in some respects the summit of Napoleon's power.

605. Napoleon's Reconstruction of the Map of Europe. — The Spanish campaign, though not successful, seemed trivial; and after Wagram Napoleon was supreme in Central Europe. This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory. The most important may be grouped under four heads.

a. The Batavian Republic (§ 580) was converted into the *Kingdom of Holland*, with Napoleon's brother Louis as sovereign.

[1] The marriage ceremony with Josephine had been performed twice; once in 1796 before a civil magistrate, and a second time in 1804 on the eve of Napoleon's coronation. Both are of doubtful validity, the first because it was not contracted before a priest, and the second because Napoleon does not seem to have had the intention of giving his consent for a permanent union. Catholic authors, however, are not in agreement on these two points. At any rate, the union with Maria Louisa was unlawful, because the previous marriage had not been declared invalid by the proper authority, the Holy See (§ 372). See excellent account in *Cath. Encycl.* under "Napoleon." The marriage case will form a good subject for a Special Report.

Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing the Continental system rigidly, Napoleon deposed him and *annexed Holland to France*, along with the *whole north coast of Germany* as far as Denmark.

b. In Italy the *Cisalpine Republic* (§ 682) was changed into the "*Kingdom of Italy*," with Napoleon himself as king and his stepson Eugene as viceroy. It included part of the Tyrol and a number of petty Italian states. In the south, Napoleon's brother Joseph ruled as "*King of Naples*," and, after his transfer to the Spanish throne (§ 602), he was succeeded by General Murat. The rest of Italy was made part of France.

This latter change involved, of course, the abolition of the *Papal States*. Already before 1809 the ambition of Napoleon had brought him into conflict with Pius VII. The common father of Christendom could not join the Continental System nor give his sanction to the *organic articles* of the Concordat, nor solve the bonds of matrimony between Jerome Bonaparte and his American wife (note to § 600). In 1808 Napoleon ordered Rome to be occupied by French troops. The next year, from conquered Vienna, he issued a decree abolishing the Papal States. Thereupon Pius VII excommunicated the French Emperor. Napoleon made light of this act of the pope,[1] nevertheless he ordered the aged pontiff to be carried off to France, where he was kept prisoner until Napoleon's downfall.

c. The Illyrian Provinces were made a French dependency (§ 603).

d. Most radical of all were the *changes in Germany*. On account of their far-reaching consequences they merit a special consideration.

606. Condition of Germany before Napoleon. — Germany

[1] "What does the pope expect from denouncing me to Christendom? Does he imagine that their arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?" was the sneering remark of Napoleon. Three years later the arms literally fell from the hands of his soldiers in the snows of Russia.

EUROPE
AT THE TIME OF
NAPOLEON'S GREATEST POWER
(1810)
French Empire
French Dependencies
Dependent Allies
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
DENMARK
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
AUSTRIA
PRUSSIA
TURKEY
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
GR. DUCHY OF WARSAW
KINGD. OF NAPLES
KING. OF SARDINIA
KING. OF SICILY
ILLYRIA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Adriatic Sea
Aegean Sea
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
COPENHAGEN
PETERSBURG
Gulf of Finland
Moscow
Riga
Konigsberg
Vilna
Smolensk
Danzig
Stettin
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
BERLIN
Posen
WARSAW
Amsterdam
LONDON
Edinburgh
Dublin
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
HELGOLAND (To Eng.)
Boulogne
Antwerp
Brussels
Cologne
Luxemburg
Frankfort
Leipzig
DRESDEN
Breslau
Krakow
Prague
PARIS
Metz
Strasburg
Basel
BERN
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Nantes
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Seine R.
Oberlessburg
CHANNEL IS.
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
Oporto
Valladolid
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Saragossa
LISBON
MADRID
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Barcelona
Valencia
Seville
Cadiz
Tarifa Pt.
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
Turin
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Leghorn
Florence
Rome
Avignon
Nice
Marseilles
Toulon
CORSICA
Ajaccio
ELBA
Trieste
Innsbruck
VIENNA
Budapest
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Wallachia
Bucharest
Bulgaria
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
CONSTANTINOPLE
Palermo
Athens
Morea
CORFU
IONIAN IS.
To Pr.
CRETE
Volga R.
Oka R.
Dwina R.
Niemen R.
Vistula R.
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Kief
Odessa
Kherson
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Hesse
Wurtem-K. of
Munich
Bav. Kingd. of
Cassel
Kingd. of Westphalia
Duchy of Berg
Kingd. of Saxony
Gothland
L.I. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

consisted of a large number of states, large and small, lay and ecclesiastical. Their union into one empire was, ever since the Peace of Westphalia (§ 412), scarcely more than nominal, as the emperor (nearly always a member of the Hapsburg house) enjoyed very little authority outside of his own hereditary lands. This "Holy Roman Empire" was made up of

(1) *two great states,* Austria and Prussia — but about half of the area of each was inhabited by non-German peoples;

(2) *some thirty states of the second rank,* like Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg;

(3) *about two hundred and fifty petty states of the "third order"* (many of them ruled by a bishop or abbot). Here we may place the "*free cities of the empire,*" that is, cities that acknowledged no authority but that of the Emperor; many of these states were very small, about one third of them having an area of not more than twelve square miles;

(4) some fifteen hundred "*knights of the empire,*" whose territories averaged less than three square miles each.

Most of these states, large and small, were absolute monarchies or aristocracies. Each made its own laws, had its own courts, its own army, and even its own customs duties. To add to the confusion, few of these principalities had their territory compact, but broken up into several fragments; some of them perhaps wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation.

607. Reorganization of Germany. — Napoleon had begun his reorganization of Germany in the Peace of Campo Formio (§ 581), when the French boundary was advanced to the Rhine.

(1) A large number of German rulers west of the Rhine were by that treaty deprived, wholly or in part, of their territory. Subsequently it was agreed that the lay princes should be indemnified for their losses by ecclesiastical estates and the territories of the free cities. The settling of the various claims took

over two years; the negotiations were conducted, nominally by a committee of delegates from the empire, in reality by Napoleon himself. During this time ambassadors of German princes and princelings continually haunted the antechambers of Napoleon, flattered and bribed French officials to obtain additional slices of land. As a rule, they received more than they lost. When the work was finally done the excessively large number of German states was reduced to about fifty (later to thirty-eight), and the ecclesiastical principalities had disappeared altogether.

(2) After Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram (§§ 598, 600, 603) *more radical changes followed.* Austria and Prussia were weakened. The first became an inland state, the second was halved and pushed altogether beyond the Elbe, while its recent Polish acquisitions were turned into the Duchy of Warsaw. Besides reducing these two great states, Napoleon proceeded to put a further check upon them by augmenting the states of the second rank. *Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony* were made into kingdoms, with their territories enlarged at the expense of Austria and smaller neighboring states; while of old Prussian territory and of the electorate of Hanover was formed the Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome (§ 600).

(3) Nearly all these German states, except Prussia and Austria, were leagued into the "*Confederation of the Rhine*," with Napoleon as "Protector," with whom the confederation had to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance and agree to furnish him with an army of 63,000 men.

(4) These rearrangements amounted to a **dissolution of the "Holy Roman Empire,"** which had existed for nearly a thousand years. Francis II, to save his imperial title, had already in 1804 proclaimed himself hereditary *Emperor of Austria* under the name of Francis I. In 1806, when Napoleon set up the Confederation of the Rhine, Francis formally resigned every claim to the empire, declaring that he considered the Austrian

provinces completely separated from the former imperial territory.

By thus simplifying the map of Germany, Napoleon undoubtedly conferred some benefits upon the people of Central Europe. The reduction of the number of states paved the way for future national union. To be sure, such an outcome lay far from Napoleon's intentions. Much was gained, too, by the abolition of feudal inequalities and the introduction of a simpler and cheaper administration of justice. But the people had to pay dearly for these advantages. Many who had cried out against the abuses of the old empire now felt the heavy hand of military despotism. While the princes reveled in their newly acquired possessions, the people groaned under the war taxes and the insolence of the French soldiery. Clearly, true liberty could not come to them from Napoleon.

608. Reform in Prussia. — In the Confederacy of the Rhine new methods and improvements were introduced by French agents or under French influence. In Prussia reform came from a Prussian minister, and was adopted to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the yoke of Napoleon. Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly out of date. Civil administration as well as military organization needed a thorough reform. Happily, the men fit to undertake the task were not wanting.

Baron von Stein introduced important changes in *civil life* while General Scharnhorst reorganized *the army*. The aim of both men was to give the whole nation a share in public affairs and thus to fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and regenerating Germany. The serfs were made free landowners. Freedom of commerce and of choice of occupation was granted to all classes. The cities, hitherto ruled by royal appointees, received free local government. In the army, the career of officer was thrown open to all, while universal military service and the abolition of foreign mercenaries made the army truly national.

At the same time the people themselves began to be animated by a new spirit of hope. The Romanticists, a new school of writers, infused an ardent patriotism into the masses by recalling the glory of the nation's past. Others worked for the moral and religious reawakening of the people. Thus much of what was really commendable in the French Revolution was introduced quietly, without bloodshed and gross injustice.

609. In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Atlantic to the Rhine, including not only the France which we know, but also Belgium, parts of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory, — while from this central body two outward-curving arms reached toward the east, one along the North Sea to the Danish peninsula, and the other down the coast of Italy past Rome. This vast territory was all organized into French departments. The rest of Italy and half of the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies; and Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends.

C. The Fall of Napoleon

610. But Russia was growing hostile. Alexander I saw in Napoleon's family alliance with Austria a menace to his predominance in the North and East. Moreover, he looked upon the erection of the Duchy of Warsaw as an attempt to restore the old kingdom of Poland, of which Russia had obtained the lion's share. The Continental System, too, weighed heavily upon Russian commerce. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the Tsar refused longer to enforce the "System." Napoleon at once declared war. Considering the vastness and the distance as well as the severe climate of the seat of war, the enterprise bordered on madness. But success and lust of power had

so blinded the French emperor that he rushed headlong to his destruction. France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Poland, and Switzerland, all had to yield their levies to the "Grand Army," of over half a million men. In June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen and entered Russian soil. But instead of giving him a chance for a decisive battle, the Russians constantly retreated, destroying whatever they could not move. Scarcity soon made itself felt. But Napoleon hurried on. Only once

Napoleon Leaving Moscow. — From a painting.

at *Borodino*, just in front of their ancient capital, the Russians made a stand. Once more Napoleon was victorious in a frightful battle, when 70,000 corpses covered the field. Then he entered Moscow (September 14). The city was empty, save for a few desperate characters prowling about the streets. The weary soldiers hoped for comfortable winter quarters. Suddenly in the night of the sixteenth flames arose from every part of the city. The agents of the Russian commander had begun their work. Four days the fire raged and reduced the city to a heap of ashes. Strangely blind to the impending danger, Napoleon

remained five weeks longer, negotiating with the Tsar for peace. The latter parleyed, merely to detain him and to make sure of his destruction. At last, October 19, the Grand Army began its retreat, constantly harassed by flying detachments of the enemy. Lack of provisions brought suffering. In November a frightful winter set in. Death reaped a rich harvest. Whole lines of soldiers sank into the snow. Artillery and baggage was abandoned. When crossing the Beresina, thousands found their grave in its icy waters or fell into the hands of the merciless Cossacks. Only a small remnant, about 20,000 hollow-eyed, half-starved figures in rags, recrossed the Russian border. *The Grand Army was buried in the Russian snows.*

611. The Nations Rise — Leipzig. — The news of the disaster electrified the oppressed; the hour for liberty had struck. The enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced the timid king to declare war on Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students; girls and women gave their jewels and ornaments to buy arms and supplies. In summer Austria, too, declared war. Napoleon had meantime hurried home from Russia, and by tremendous exertion raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France. With this he hastened back to Germany. For a while victory still clung to his imperial eagles, but in October, 1813, he met a crushing defeat in the murderous battle of Leipzig.

612. From Leipzig to Paris. — Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings everywhere fled from their thrones, and most of the small states joined his enemies. England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria took to themselves the name of "*The Allies*" and maintained a perfect understanding. After Leipzig they proposed peace, offering to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. Like a desperate gambler bound to win or lose all, Napoleon rejected these terms. The Allies then advanced to the Rhine, and again offered peace; Napoleon again refused. Then they invaded

France at several points, with overwhelming numbers; and in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, they *entered Paris victoriously in March, 1814.*

613. The Peace of 1814. — The Allies made Napoleon a large allowance and granted him the island of *Elba* in the Mediterranean as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the throne, one of the emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, promised to accept a constitution framed by the Senate, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII. The Allies avoided the appearance of imposing this ruler upon France, but they liked the arrangement. To make it popular, they granted liberal terms of peace. France kept her territory as before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had repeatedly exacted from other countries; nor did they take back the works of art that the French armies had carried off from so many famous galleries of Europe.

For Further Reading. — On the period treated in the last two chapters see Guggenberger, III, §§ 262–338. The best short lives of Napoleon in English are those of Rose and Seeley. The latter has an interesting essay on Napoleon's character and the causes of his success, which might be used for a Special Report. On his ecclesiastical policy see MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the XIX Century*, I, pp. 27–56. Parsons in Vol. V of his *Studies* discusses at length the divorce question of the French Emperor.

PART V. THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

CHAPTER XL

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA: REARRANGEMENT

614. Napoleon had wiped away the old map of Europe, and now *his map fell to pieces.* All the lands which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without government. It was clear to everybody that such vast territories, inhabited by so many different peoples, could not be left under one head. Much of what Napoleon had done was highly artificial and against all traditions. Moreover, many of the dispossessed rulers clamored for restoration. Others wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. To settle all these problems, the Allies, after the peace of Paris, invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a congress.

This congress assembled at Vienna in September, 1814. It was a brilliant assembly, such as the world had seldom seen, and Austria's ruler proved a munificent host to his distinguished guests. But while the crowd of kings and smaller monarchs was entertained by a constant round of brilliant social functions and genial festivities a few ministers and statesmen did the work behind closed doors and announced the result of their deliberations to the Congress for ratification.

615. The territorial arrangements fall under four heads.

a. Italy had her old states restored, including the *Papal States.* Only the old Republic of Genoa was united with Piedmont. The original rulers, too, reoccupied their thrones.

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
(1815)
German Confederacy
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
L.L. POATES, ENGR. N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINLAND
RUSSIA
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
PRUSSIA
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
KINGDOM OF POLAND
AUSTRIA
EMPIRE OF
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SWITZERLAND
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
TURKISH EMPIRE
ST. PETERSBURG
STOCKHOLM
CHRISTIANIA
COPENHAGEN
BERLIN
VIENNA
PARIS
LONDON
MADRID
LISBON
ROME
CONSTANTINOPLE
Bay of Biscay
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
Edinburgh
Dublin
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
Amsterdam
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Luxemburg
Cologne
Hanover
Bremen
Hamburg
Kiel
HELGOLAND (To Eng.)
Danzig
Königsberg
E. Prussia
Vienna
Vilna
Riga
Peipus L.
Moscow
Smolensk
Volga R.
Oka R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Kiev
Posen
Warsaw
Breslau
Dresden
Kg. of Saxony
Leipzig
Cassel
Frankfort
Stuttgart
Kingdom of Bavaria
Prague
Krakow
Metz
Strasbourg
Munich
Innsbruck
Budapest
Transylvania
Wallachia
Bucharest
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Odessa
Kherson
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
Montenegro
Scutari
Smyrna
Athens
Corfu
Ionian Is. (To Eng.)
Malta (To Eng.)
Crete
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Po R.
Arno R.
Tiber R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Switzerland
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Nantes
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Monaco
Genoa
Milan
Verona
Venice
Trieste
Florence
Leghorn
Ancona
Grand Duchy of Tuscany
Elba
Corsica
Ajaccio
Sardinia
Naples
Kingdom of
Lombardy-Venetia
Andorra
Barcelona
Saragossa
Valladolid
Oporto
Valencia
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Tarifa Pt.
St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Balearic Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Algiers
Tunis
Morocco
Algeria
Sea of Marmora
Aegean Sea
Archipelago
Volga R.
Peipus L.
Riga
Moscow
Smolensk
Vilna
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Odessa
Kherson
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
Bucharest
Wallachia
Transylvania
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Constantinople
Smyrna
Athens
Corfu
Crete
Malta (To Eng.)
Ionian Is. (To Eng.)
Montenegro
Scutari
Rome
Naples
Kingdom of
Two Sicilies
Sardinia
Kingdom of
Corsica
Ajaccio
Elba
Grand Duchy of Tuscany
Leghorn
Ancona
Florence
Nice
Monaco
Genoa
Milan
Verona
Venice
Trieste
Lombardy-Venetia
Switzerland
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Nantes
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Andorra
Barcelona
Saragossa
Valladolid
Oporto
Valencia
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Tarifa Pt.
St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Balearic Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Algiers
Tunis
Morocco
Algeria
Sea of Marmora
Aegean Sea
Archipelago
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Po R.
Arno R.
Tiber R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Switzerland
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Nantes
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Andorra
Barcelona
Saragossa
Valladolid
Oporto
Valencia
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Tarifa Pt.
St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Balearic Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Algiers
Tunis
Morocco
Algeria
Sea of Marmora
Aegean Sea
Archipelago

b. The states along the French boundary were strengthened. Holland was made into the *Kingdom of the Netherlands*, under the House of Orange, and *Belgium*, the former Austrian Netherlands, was added to it, much against the wishes of the Belgians, — Austria "compensating" herself in northern Italy. The old *German territory west of the Rhine*, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine, was taken back from France and divided between Prussia and Bavaria. *Switzerland* again became independent and was to be forever neutral.

c. Denmark, the old ally of Napoleon, was forced to cede *Norway to Sweden.* This was really in the interest of Russia and Prussia; for, in return, Sweden ceded *Finland to Russia* and *Swedish Pomerania to Prussia.* Sweden herself now retired within the northern peninsula.

d. The *thirty-eight German states* were left largely as arranged by Napoleon, and continued under their old rulers.

There remained, however, the matter of *other compensations* to the Allies. *England* had incurred a heavy debt by acting as paymaster to Napoleon's enemies. In repayment, to a certain extent, she kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial territories, mainly former Dutch colonies. This left England practically the sole colonial power. Alexander of Russia claimed his reward in *Poland:* he insisted that the Duchy of Warsaw (§ 607), exclusive of the province of Posen, which was given to Prussia, should be made into a new Poland, having its own constitution, but being under the personal sovereignty of the Tsar. *Austria* and *Prussia* had both been enlarged after the beginning of the French Revolution by the partitions of Poland (§§ 505, 506). Austria's claims were easily satisfied. Of Polish territory the part annexed in the first partition was restored to the Hapsburgs. In exchange for the Austrian Netherlands they accepted *Lombardy and Venice* together with the *Adriatic coast line.* But on the matter of Prussian compensation serious difficulties arose.

Alexander promised to aid Prussia in obtaining the whole of Saxony in exchange for the Duchy of Warsaw. The king of Saxony had remained a faithful ally of Napoleon to the end, and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to punish him for his attitude. Moreover, of all the Allies Prussia had suffered most from Napoleon's tyranny, and had made the greatest sacrifices in the War of Liberation. But Austria dreaded further extension of Prussia into the heart of Germany, and opposed the plan. England and France joined her, and the former Allies came to the verge of war. Finally, however, it was agreed that *Prussia* should have (1) *the northern half of Saxony* and (2) considerable *German territory* recovered from France *west of the Rhine* (see *b* above).

616. Suddenly during these wranglings the news burst upon the Congress that Napoleon had left Elba.—Through secret agents he was informed about the dissensions in Vienna. In France, too, things seemed to look favorable to his return. Louis XVIII had in a short time managed to lose the loyalty of his subjects. The Tricolor of the Empire, under which Frenchmen had marched triumphantly into nearly every capital of Europe, was replaced by the White Lilies of the Bourbons. Napoleonic officers of great merit were dismissed from the army. Louis had swept aside the new constitution and introduced one of his own. Some extreme royalists who had just returned from exile began to talk of a restoration of confiscated property, though since 1792 it had passed through many hands. In short, it seemed as if the returned Bourbons intended to ignore altogether the tremendous changes of the last twenty-five years. "They had learned nothing and forgotten nothing," as Napoleon expressed it.

Building his hopes on these facts, Napoleon left Elba secretly with a force of about 1500 men, and landed on French soil, March 1, 1815. One army after another, sent to capture him, went over to his standard; and in a few days he entered Paris,

from which Louis had fled the night before. Not a shot had been fired throughout his progress in France. At once he set to work with marvelous energy to reëstablish his power. Day and night work went on in the foundries and arsenals of the country to equip his army. He found, however, less enthusiasm among the civil population than among the soldiers. The wealthy classes, especially, desired peace, and a Napoleonic régime meant war. His attempts to negotiate with the Allies in Vienna failed completely. The news of his escape silenced all quarrels, and the Allies declared war upon him as "the disturber of the peace of Europe."

The Duke of Wellington.

617. Waterloo, June 18, 1815.— Napoleon resolved not to give his enemies time to concentrate their forces. With an army of 130,000 veterans he marched into Belgium. There the Prussians under Blücher were stationed along the Meuse River, and an English army under Wellington (§ 602) was encamped near Brussels. Napoleon threw himself first upon the Prussians and defeated them. Another advanced detachment of the English was forced to retire to the main body. After these initial successes Napoleon attacked Wellington at *Waterloo* near Brussels. On the morning of June 18 began the decisive struggle. Napoleon's troops fought with all their old bravery for their master. But the cool courage of the English soldiers and Wellington's imperturbable calm rendered all the fierce French attacks for a long time unavailing. Gradually, however, the English center began to waver. Wellington anxiously looked out for Blücher, who had promised to come. At last the Prussians appeared at the French flank. Faced

with this new danger, Napoleon was unable to drive home his advantage against the English. In vain he sacrificed his Old Guard to a man. Wellington gave the command for a general advance. The French retreated, and the Prussian cavalry turned the retreat into a rout. Napoleon was crushed.

618. Second Treaty with France. — The Allies reëntered Paris, "bringing Louis XVIII in their baggage," as the French wits put it. Napoleon was imprisoned on the distant volcanic island of *St. Helena;* and to France was dictated a peace more severe than that of the previous year. She had to restore the works of art, to cede Savoy to Sardinia, and other smaller strips on her northern and eastern frontier. A war indemnity of 700 million francs was a partial payment for the robberies and exactions of the last twenty-five years. Prussia and Austria urged, too, the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine and other German territory that had been seized by Louis XIV. But Alexander of Russia and England insisted on milder punishment.

Napoleon spent the last six years of his life on his island prison in the Atlantic under the strict custody of his English guards. He whiled away the time with reading and dictating his memoirs. Towards the end he returned to the religious practices of his childhood. He died on May 5, 1821, after having received the consolations of religion from a Catholic priest.

619. Verdict on the Congress. — During the three months of Napoleon's second empire the Congress of Vienna completed its work. Some of its later measures were highly praiseworthy. England persuaded the Powers to join in a declaration against the slave trade. The navigation of rivers flowing through or between different countries was declared free to the commerce of all countries. And the Powers guaranteed the permanent neutrality of Switzerland. That is, they agreed that in future wars no country should invade Switzerland, or send troops through her territory.

But in many other matters the Congress was remarkably shortsighted. It failed to realize what tremendous changes the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era had wrought in men's minds, and it was, consequently, unable to distinguish the good from the evil in these changes. To that "assemblage of princes and lackeys" the last twenty-five years were nothing but so much time of the past, and it resolved simply to undo everything that happened during this momentous period.

(1) The Congress represented princes, not peoples; and in its work the *demands of the people were ignored.* Thus it put the Belgians under Dutch masters, the Poles under the Russians, the Venetians under the Austrians, in every case against the fierce resentment of the subjected peoples.

(2) The Revolution had everywhere evoked a *demand on the part of the people for a share in the government.* The men who shaped the destinies of Europe at the Congress abhorred such a change from eighteenth century absolutism. To them participation of the people in public affairs was "Jacobinism."

(3) The *Church* had suffered frightfully during the revolutionary period. The Congress made practically *no amends,* but left her to the tender mercies of the individual governments.

(4) One result of the Congress was the so-called *Holy Alliance,* concluded shortly after its adjournment. Its members, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France obliged themselves to govern their respective states in accordance with Christian principles, to maintain the spirit of religion, charity, and harmony. Certainly a noble aim. But soon the Alliance[1] assumed the character of an international police force. For the next fifteen years it felt itself called upon to suppress every movement toward

[1] The alliance that put down liberal movements in the various countries of Europe was, strictly speaking, not the Holy Alliance, but a special League of the Powers, growing out of the alliance against Napoleon. But the Holy Alliance soon merged into this special league, and thus it came that the name of the former is often applied to the latter.

liberty, however moderate and just it might be. Yet the spirit of the Revolution could not be subdued by brute force, but by wise guidance into the proper channels, by evolving forms of government that would not exclude the coöperation of the people.

CHAPTER XLI

CENTRAL EUROPE TO 1830

620. The immediate result of the Congress of Vienna was a victory for reaction and despotism. — In most states the returning legitimate rulers were received loyally and, in some cases, even enthusiastically. The downfall of Napoleon had been chiefly the work of the revived patriotism of the people, and now they expected greater political liberty and real reforms. Instead, the princes thought of nothing but the restoration of things as they had been before the Revolution. Soon the joy over the overthrow of the tyrant of Europe gave way to bitter disappointment and steadily growing discontent. Unfortunately, too, the despotism of the rulers drove many well meaning friends of liberty into the arms of the extremists, to whom the Revolution in its worst aspects was acceptable.

621. The chief upholder of these reactionary tendencies all over Europe was Metternich. — That subtle Austrian statesman largely guided the policy of Europe from 1815 to 1848. The decrees of Vienna were partly his work. He summed up his political creed thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. Government is no more a subject of debate than is religion." He was, indeed, too shrewd to think it possible to return altogether to the prerevolutionary days, but he did strive to arrest all changes at the lines drawn by the Congress of Vienna. "The new ideas of democracy and nationality ought never to have been allowed to get into Europe," he said,

"but since they are in, the business of the governments is to keep them down."

The strong *sentiment of nationality* was one of the fruits of the Revolution. It tended to draw all people of one race and speech into forming one political state. Hence the Germans desired to establish one German state, and the Italians to form a "United Italy." In a state comprising many races, like Austria, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force. Naturally, therefore, this new spirit of nationality found little favor with the Austrian statesman Metternich.

METTERNICH. — From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

622. The Germanic Confederation. — Metternich's chief victory at the Congress of Vienna lay in the reorganization of Germany. Patriotic Germans, like Stein (§ 608), had hoped for a real union either in the revival or strengthening of the Empire or in a new strong confederation of German states. Lack of union, chiefly due to the religious division introduced by Protestantism, had been Germany's greatest misfortune for the last three centuries. Time and again foreign aggressors, like Richelieu, Louis XIV, and especially Napoleon, had allied themselves with one or more German states against the other and had thus been able to lord it over them and to rob them of valuable territories. The war of 1813–1814 had taught the German people the value of unity. "A general union of all Germans under a

THE
GERMANIC
CONFEDERATION
FROM
1815 to 1867
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
GOTTLAND
JUTLAND
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Friedericia
SCHLESWIG
DUCHY OF
HOLSTEIN
Kiel
Rendsburg
Eider
HELGOLAND (British)
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
Stralsund
Rostock
Memel
Memel R.
Tilsit
Königsberg
Danzig
Kolberg
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Marienburg
Wilhelmshaven
1854 PRUSSIA
Hamburg
1827
1865 PRUSSIA
MECKLENBURG
SCHWERIN
STRELITZ
N. Strelitz
Stettin
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Luneburg
R. Elbe
KINGDOM OF HANOVER
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
Osnabruck
Hanover
Brunswick
Brandenburg
Berlin
BRANDENBURG
R. Warta
Potsdam
Frankfort
Oder
POSEN
Posen
Schroda
Thorn
R. Vistula
R. Bug
WARSAW
Minsk
Münster
WESTPHALIA
Magdeburg
PROV. OF SAXONY
Dessau
Kalisz
POLAND
R. Vistula
Rhine
Maas
JULIERS
LIMBURG
Düsseldorf
CLEVES
BERG
Aix la Chapelle
Cologne
Liege
Göttingen
Cassel
ELECTORATE OF HESSE
Halle
Leipzig
Dresden
Altenburg
Gotha
Weimar
Warburg
THURINGIA
KINGDOM OF SAXONY
Görlitz
Breslau
Ols
SILESIA
Münchengrätz
NASSAU

KINGDOM OF BAVARIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
ITALY
TURKEY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Munich
Vienna
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Nuremburg
Pilsen
Olmütz
Brünn
Budweis
Nikolsburg
Gänserndorf
Pressburg
Passau
Danube
Ulm
Stuttgart
WURTEMBERG
Karlsruhe
Mannheim
PALATINATE
Landau
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Plombières
Mühlhausen
Basel
Constance
Zürich
Lucerno
Neuenburg
Bern
LIECHTEN-STEIN
Innsbruck
TYROL
SALZBURG
Sälzburg
Gastein
STYRIA
Gratz
Stuhlweissenburg
Buda Pest
CARINTHIA
Klagenfürt
Laibach
CARNIOLA
Agram
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
Temesvar
Belgrade
Bozen
Trent
Görz
Trieste
ISTRIA
Fiume
Geneva
R. Rhone
SAVOY
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
Magenta
Novara
Milan
Custoza
Verona
Venice
Solferino
Padua
Villafranca
Mantua
Turin
PIEDMONT
PARMA
MODENA
Genoa
Ravenna
EMILIA
Florence
Leghorn
TUSCANY
MARCHES
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
R. Po
R. Etsch
R. Inn
R. Danube
R. Drave
R. Save
R. Theiss
R. Morawa
R. Leitha
SCHUTT
1815
1815
1815
6
8
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12
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16
18
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44
46
48
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

strong head, and a free parliament representing the entire German nation is the common desire of all far-seeing men," said a German writer of that period.

But that was not Metternich's desire. He saw that in a true German state, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria, the largest of them all, might play them off against one another, but especially against Prussia. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because these narrow and despotic princelings hated to give up a tittle of their power for the common good. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress of Vienna, with these princes of the small states, and won. The thirty-eight German states were organized into a "*Germanic Confederation*," a loose league of sovereigns.[1] It included all the small states, all of Prussia except East and West Prussia, but only the German and Bohemian parts of Austria. Each state had its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy. They even kept the right to form alliances with foreign powers, — although they did promise not to make war upon one another.

The Confederation had no distinct executive, judicial, and legislative departments. Its one organ was the Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was merely a standing conference of ambassadors appointed by the sovereigns. The people had no representatives. The Austrian delegate presided; but no important action could be taken without consent of every state. Before many years the Diet was the laughing stock of Europe. "It was no government at all; it was a polite and ceremonious way of doing nothing."

[1] The term "confederation" is usually applied to a league of adjacent states in which the members retain nearly all their sovereign rights. A "federation" is a union of states under a strong "federal" legislature and executive.

623. Thus the hopes of the patriots for a strong united fatherland were shattered, a disappointment all the more galling because the War of Liberation of 1813 had been essentially a popular uprising. Nevertheless, the future was not altogether dark. As compared with the old Empire, the Confederation was in some points an improvement. Serfdom remained abolished, feudal rights were largely reduced. The smaller number of states simplified the problem of unification. Prussia in the North was now an almost entirely German state, well qualified to assume the leadership in future schemes for union. Her administration, though aristocratic, was honest and efficient.

Moreover, an apparently unimportant step did much to prepare the future German state. In 1818 Prussia abolished within its own territory all custom lines, and proclaimed freedom of import and export, leaving only a small duty on foreign merchandise. This arrangement was gradually extended to other states of the Confederation, until, in 1834, it included nearly all except Austria. This "*Zollverein*" (customs union), as it was called, made Germany one state commercially and kept alive the desire to make it one politically. As an Austrian diplomat rightly said, "it was the biggest nail in the coffin of the Confederation," but it was, too, — to change the figure — the cradle of future unity.

624. The Promised Constitutions. — Though the chance for making a German nation had been lost at the Congress of Vienna, the progressive element still hoped for free political institutions in the separate states. Within the next four years several *South German states*, Würtemberg, Baden, Bavaria, and others granted constitutions. The people of these southern districts, on account of their proximity to France, had been greatly influenced by the Revolution, and their rulers granted constitutions chiefly in order to secure popular support against possible attempts of Austria or Prussia upon their sovereignty. These

constitutions left the princes still the real rulers, but they provided for equality of all classes before the law, for freedom of the press, and for representative assemblies with control over new taxes.

The king of *Prussia*, too, appointed a committee to draw up the constitution he had promised on a former occasion. But he was a weak, vacillating man, greatly influenced by the reactionary element among his advisers. The committee dawdled along for some years and, in the end, achieved nothing. True, the parties that clamored for a constitution had themselves very hazy ideas of what it should contain, and thereby defeated their own ends. Some real progress was made by introducing more system and uniformity into the administration, education, and the army.

625. Religion. — The Catholic Church had lost all its property when Napoleon reorganized Germany (§ 607, 1). The various states, after the Congress of Vienna, undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy and to maintain the buildings devoted to divine worship. But in the minds of the reactionary statesmen of that period, the Church was to be the humble handmaid of the state, good enough to teach the people obedience to the princes, but not to enjoy her God-given freedom of action. In Prussia, especially, the ministers of the crown, in their desire to make everything subservient to the state, carried into every branch of the administration the pernicious principle that the king is the source of all rights, political and religious, for Protestants and Catholics alike. Hence numerous restrictions were designed to curtail the liberty of the clergy in the exercise of their ministry. There were laws and decrees interfering with the education of the priests, with free intercourse between the bishops and the Holy See, and with the Catholic education of children of mixed marriages. Unfortunately, even some of the clergy became tools of absolutism and betrayed the interests of the Church. Still, in spite of these measures, the first part

of the nineteenth century witnessed everywhere in German lands a *revival of religious fervor*. Gifted Catholic laymen, like the brilliant Joseph Goerres, came out boldly in defense of the rights of the Church. When in 1837 the government of Prussia went so far as to arrest the archbishops of Cologne and Gnesen for their courageous defense of Catholic education, the excitement all over Germany grew so intense that the bureaucrats in Berlin had to beat a disgraceful retreat.

626. The Liberals. — Meanwhile the demand for greater political liberty was voiced chiefly by a small group of writers,

The Wartburg Castle.

students, and professors. A flood of pamphlets, proclamations, books, and periodicals tried to arouse the people as well as the governments. Political agitation was especially intense at the universities. In October, 1817, the Jena students celebrated with great pomp the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's break with the Church and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. The Wartburg, a castle in the Duchy of Weimar, was the scene of their festivities, which assumed the character

of a political demonstration. The students sang patriotic songs, made a few ardent and foolish speeches, and, in the evening, they threw some old textbooks into a bonfire, — having first labeled them with the names of certain reactionary authors, especially hated by the Liberal party.[1]

Metternich took shrewd advantage of the childish demonstration to advise everywhere more stringent measures against the liberal movement. Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened by the crimes of some extreme enthusiasts. A small section of agitators preached that even assassination in the name of liberty was right, and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to have drawn away the Tsar from liberal sympathies.

627. **The Carlsbad Decrees.** — Austria at once called the ministers of the leading states to a conference at Carlsbad. There Metternich secured their approval for a series of resolutions, which he forced through the Diet at Frankfort. The "*Carlsbad Decrees*," so adopted, were especially directed against free speech in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret student societies, established a close watch over the professors, set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter, and created a standing committee to hunt down conspiracies. The great Catholic writer Goerres raised his voice against the princes who would not understand their people and their time, and against the extreme Liberals who by their secret activity undermined all mutual confidence. But his voice remained unheeded, and he himself escaped arrest only by hasty flight.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, gives a more detailed narrative. For the religious revival on the continent consult MacCaffrey, Vol. I, Chap. I and II.

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[1] It should be noted, however, that this patriotic propaganda sometimes proceeded from a false philosophy, which worshiped the strong self-assertive state as the highest goal of human endeavor.

CHAPTER XLII

THE SOUTH OF EUROPE — REVOLUTIONS OF 1820

628. Revolution in Spain and America. — The first risings against the reactionary governments occurred in the South of Europe. To understand them, we must turn back a moment to notice conditions in Spain. The Spanish patriots who rose against Napoleon in 1808 (§ 602) found themselves without a government. Their king was a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon. The insurgents improvised a representative assembly, the "Cortes," and, in 1812, they adopted a liberal constitution. This "*Constitution of* 1812" was, however, largely the work of men imbued with the ideas of the French revolutionists. Though not without redeeming features, it was, on the whole, a failure. Like its model, the first French Constitution, it restricted the executive so much that efficient government would have been almost impossible. The mass of the Spanish people did not approve of this new scheme of government, especially because it very seriously infringed on the rights of the Catholic Church, to which the majority of the Spaniards were passionately devoted.

When Napoleon seized Spain the *Spanish-American colonies* refused to recognize him, and thus became virtually independent. At first most of the colonies professed loyalty to the legitimate Spanish king, but various causes were at work to sever completely the ties that bound them to the mother country. Since the suppression of the Jesuits (§ 523) the influence of Freemasonry had grown and helped to diminish fidelity to Spain.

The example of the United States, in securing independence from England, proved a powerful incentive to South Americans; their grievances against Spain were in many respects similar to those of the English colonies against the mother country. After 1810 colony after colony severed its connection with Spain, and by 1824 Spanish rule on the South American continent had come to an end. But the history of most of these new republics shows that the cry for "Liberty" is too often made to serve the selfish purposes of intriguers and mere adventurers. True progress and prosperity, in most of these states, are retarded by frequent revolutionary convulsions.

629. After the fall of Napoleon the Spanish king, *Ferdinand VII*, returned to his throne, and was received enthusiastically. But seldom did a ruler disappoint his loyal subjects more shamefully than Ferdinand. The reconstruction of Spain after the turbulence of the Peninsular War required a firm hand and sound judgment, and Ferdinand lacked both. He first accepted the Constitution of 1812 and then rejected it. A cruel and senseless persecution of the French sympathizers deeply offended the Liberals, while the scandals of his private life lost him the affections of all.

In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the rebellious American colonies. But the service was not popular, and one of the regiments, instead of embarking, raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, as cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded, called the Cortes, and restored the constitution.

630. This Spanish Revolution became the signal for like attempts in other states. — Before the year closed, Portugal and Naples both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. In the case of Portugal one of the results of the revolution was the loss of its American colony, Brazil (1821). Early in the next year, the army of Pied-

mont[1] rebelled, to secure a constitution for the kingdom of Sardinia, and in Naples a similar outbreak brought about a like result. Lombardy and Venice stirred restlessly in the grasp of Austria. The Greeks, finally, began their long and heroic struggle for independence.

This widespread unanimity of action was due in part to secret revolutionary societies, already in existence. The most important of these was the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"). It came into existence in Naples in the time of Napoleon, to drive out the French. At first many sincere patriots became its members, but after the restoration of the legitimate government it passed under the control of extremists, whose object was the creation of a united Italian republic after the pattern of the First French Republic. Conspiracy, treachery, and even political murder, were the means to be employed. They had already succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the army and thereby engineered the recent revolts. The society spread rapidly over all of Italy and parts of France.

631. The "Holy Alliance." — We have seen how Metternich used the Germanic Confederation to stifle progressive tendencies in Germany. We are now to observe how he adroitly twisted the "Holy Alliance" (§ 619, 4) to accomplish the same ends in southern Europe. When the Revolutions of 1820 broke out, Metternich invited the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, France, and Austria to a congress at Troppau. There they signed a declaration that they would intervene to put down revolution against any established government. England protested against this plan, and, on her part, proclaimed the principle of "non-intervention," that is, that each nation should manage its own

[1] Piedmont ("Foot of the Mount") was the district between the Alps and the plains of Lombardy. It was the most important part of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The names "Sardinia" and "Piedmont" were often used interchangeably to designate the state in northwestern Italy ruled by princes of the House of Savoy.

affairs as it chose. Undaunted by this protest, the united eastern monarchs, known from this time as the " Holy Alliance " (see note to § 619), prepared to enforce their Troppau program.

632. " Intervention " in Naples and Sardinia. — A few months after Troppau, the allied monarchs met again at Laibach. With them was Ferdinand of Naples. He had accepted the new Neapolitan constitution, but, previously, made an agreement with Metternich to allow the " intervention " of Austrian military forces for the purpose of " suppressing rebellion and vice." The Laibach meeting now sent an Austrian army to *Naples*. The Neapolitans were easily defeated, and Ferdinand returned, surrounded by Austrian bayonets, to glut his vengeance upon the rebels, with dungeon and scaffold. He was followed by Francis I, a well meaning but weak man. Under him the Carbonari continued their secret activity.

Three days after the Neapolitan defeat came the revolt in *Piedmont*. The Carbonari thought the moment opportune on account of the absence of the Austrian forces in Naples. But the king, with the help of Austrian soldiers sent by the Laibach meeting, speedily crushed the revolt.

These risings, instigated by the Carbonari, accomplished nothing, but rather put a stop to the most necessary reforms, as the governments had to fight for their very existence. On the other hand, they strengthened the influence of Metternich and the reactionaries, which they had sought to destroy.

633. Intervention in Spain. — Flushed with success, the Holy Alliance now determined to overthrow the Spanish constitution, from which the contagion had spread. In 1822 its members were summoned to a congress at Verona. England protested again, but with the sanction of the other members of the Alliance a French army entered Spain. There the majority of the people hailed them as liberators from the yoke of the revolutionists. The Constitution of 1812 was again abolished, but nothing better put in its place. Ferdinand, like his name-

sake in Naples, took dire vengeance on the Liberals. The country, however, found no rest, but was soon plunged into new civil wars.

A further wish of the Holy Alliance to regain for Spain the rebellious American colonies met with firm resistance from the United States and England. President Monroe announced, December 2, 1823, the fixed policy of the United States in regard to foreign interference on the American continent. "*America for the Americans*" is the substance of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

634. Intervention in Greece, for Freedom. — Metternich's system met another check in the affairs of Greece. The first rising there, prepared by secret societies and young Greeks living abroad, had been accompanied by terrible massacres of the Turks dwelling in the country. The insurgents had based their hopes on Russia, but were left to themselves, and the Turks took vengeance on the unhappy people by ordering a frightful war of extermination upon the Christians. Metternich, in his mortal fear of all rebellion, prevented effectual assistance and even hoped to bring about an intervention of the Alliance in favor of the restoration of Turkish authority. But he failed for two reasons.

a. The educated classes of Western Europe had been nourished on the *ancient Greek literature*, and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to that ancient war against the Persians which Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plutarch had made glorious. Everywhere enthusiastic men stirred up the sympathies of the Western countries for the downtrodden Greeks. Money was freely given to help the patriots, and volunteers came from France, England, Germany, and America. The English poet Byron did much by his poems to widen the enthusiasm, and finally closed a rather wild and reckless career by giving his fortune and life to the Greek cause.

b. The Russian people felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their co-religionists, and a still deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes, and so Metternich lost his chief ally, Russia. Tsar Alexander at first discountenanced the rising and even punished Russian officers who had encouraged it, as he felt himself bound by the principles of the Holy Alliance. But his successor, Nicholas I, had no such scruples. An alliance between Russia, England, and France brought intervention, but for the Greeks, not against them.

The English, French, and Russian fleets proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce, so as to permit negotiations. The three fleets were acting together under the command of the English admiral Codrington, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance they came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but the excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disavow the deed. The Tsar, who alone had formally declared war, continued it until 1829, and advanced very far into Turkish territory. The jealousy of the other Powers forced him to give up his conquests, but *Greece obtained her independence* (1830).

635. Elsewhere, however, Metternich's system was triumphant. — For ten years after the attempted Spanish revolution of 1820 the reactionary statesmen had it all their own way from England to Greece.

The Decrees of Carlsbad (§ 627) were renewed in 1824, and remained the law of the Germanic Confederation for a generation more. Thousands came into conflict with the ever watchful police, supported by an extensive spy system, for singing patriotic songs or for criticism of the despotic governments. It was unfortunate that no government could see the signs of the times. The demand for greater freedom was not to be checked by such means; prisons and bayonets cannot kill ideas. But it must

be admitted, too, that the standard bearers of "Liberty and Equality" were often extreme radicals, whose ideas of reform and popular welfare were those of Robespierre and the Jacobins. Usually, too, that element among the progressives made the greatest noise. Yet there were not wanting sane men with whom the governments could have coöperated in establishing an order of things which was neither the absolutism of the eighteenth century nor the tyranny of the "Reign of Terror."

The next attack on the reaction came from France. To understand it, we have to survey the history of France from Waterloo.

For Further Reading. — See Guggenberger, III, §§ 371–379.

CHAPTER XLIII

FRANCE, 1815–1830

A. The Monarchy under the Bourbons, 1815–1830

636. Louis XVIII — The Charter. — When Louis XVIII became king (§ 613), he saw that France must have some guarantee of the personal rights which the Revolution had won. He refused, indeed, the constitution which the old senate of Napoleon tried to force upon him, but he himself gave to the nation a Charter. In this way he saved the theory of the Bourbon kings that the monarch is the source of all law. But the provisions of the document, otherwise, gave the people more liberty than any other country on the continent then enjoyed.

The legislature had two Houses, — the Peers, appointed for life by the king, and the Deputies. These last were elected by the people, but a very high property qualification let only one man in seventy vote. To be eligible for deputy, a man had to be still more wealthy, — so much so that in some districts it was hard to find any one to send to the legislature. The king kept an absolute veto and the sole right to propose laws. Religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech, and freedom of the press were confirmed. In local government the centralization of Napoleon was retained.

Personally Louis XVIII was a benevolent old gentleman, not at all reactionary, shrewd but indolent. But restless, irritable France needed more than that. The country was torn by wrangling factions, Republicans, Bonapartists, Royalists of moderate and extreme types. After the sacrileges of the Revolution and the cold infidelity of the Empire a strong Catholic

revival had set in, but its leaders were for the most part extreme Royalists, whose ideals were the Old Régime with its privileges. Against them worked the irreligious, revolutionary element, chiefly through the secret societies, the Carbonari and others (§ 630).

637. In 1824 Louis was succeeded by his brother Charles X. — The new king, personally a devoted Catholic, wisely sought the regeneration of France in the revival of Catholic faith and practice, but very unwisely in the restoration of the Old Régime. The legislature at first supported him. In the meantime, however, all the old revolutionaries, who had lost nothing of their hatred for throne and altar, worked busily upon public opinion, flooding the country with cheap editions of Voltaire and Rousseau and winning over to their side the university students especially. The Royalists, by many reactionary and imprudent measures, played into their hands. Thus, in 1825, the legislature voted twenty million dollars from the national treasury to indemnify the returned Emigrants. Later, to stem the rising tide of impiety, the freedom of the press was curtailed. The clergy were given large control of education, but at the same time it was the aim of the monarchy to make the Church subservient to the crown. Religion suffered thereby, as the Church seemed identified with the cause of Bourbon absolutism.

638. The Approach of the Storm. — At an inspection of the National Guards, in 1827, threatening cries against the government were heard from the ranks. The king dissolved the Guards. In order to secure a more pliant legislature, where the Liberal parties had gradually increased, the king dismissed the Chamber of Deputies and ordered new elections. But the anti-governmental parties had been so active that they secured a decided majority. The leader of the Liberals was *Thiers*, a brilliant young journalist and admirer of the English constitution. "The king reigns, but does not govern," was his

theory, and in his paper he frequently made significant references to the English Revolution of 1688, which had overthrown the Stuarts.

Charles X, in order to prevent the threatened revolution, dismissed his prime minister and appointed a moderate Liberal to the post. But neither side was pleased, and the new minister had to go. Then the king, angered at the ingratitude by which his minor concessions were received, appointed an out and out reactionary ministry. The Deputies promptly gave it a "vote of want of confidence," and were as promptly sent home by the king. In the hope of quieting the agitation at home by military success abroad, Charles ordered a vigorous attack upon the pirate fortress of Algiers, where desultory warfare had been carried on for some time. The fortress fell, but too late to influence the elections. Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reëlected, and the Liberals gained fifty additional seats. As a last resort, the king resolved upon a coup d'état. It cost him his crown.

B. The Revolution of 1830

639. The "July Ordinances." — Suddenly, without being ready for the consequences, the enraged monarch published a series of decrees, known as the "July Ordinances." These ordinances practically *suspended the Charter*. One forbade the publication of newspapers without the royal approval, another dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and a third promulgated new election laws, restricting the franchise to the richer landowners.

Metternich had foreseen this deed, and its probable results. He lamented the free press and the representative system in France; but he warned the French ambassador that an attempt to do away with these "plague spots" would ruin the dynasty. "The men of lead," he said, "are on the side of the Charter. Charles X should remember 1789."

640. The "July Days" — Fall of the Bourbons. — The Ordinances were published July 26, 1830. The great mass of the people remained quiet and Charles expected no trouble. Forty-one journalists published a protest written by Thiers; though he and his followers thought only of legal resistance, not violence. There were, however, in Paris many old revolutionists, ready to go further. The Carbonari, advised by Lafayette in his old age, worked with feverish haste to organize a rebellion. On July 28 barricades arose all over the city, and furious fighting ensued between the royal troops and the republican mob under the command of Lafayette. For three days the streets of Paris rang with the din of battle, the Republicans steadily gaining. Then the moderate Liberals began to fear a repetition of the days of the First Republic, and, to prevent this, quickly organized a provisional government. *Louis Philippe*, a distant cousin of Charles and son of the Duke of Orleans of revolutionary fame (§ 535), was appointed Lieutenant-General of France. Meantime Charles resided quietly at St. Cloud, a suburb of Paris, totally blind to the danger. Regiment after regiment of the royal troops went over to the rebels. At last the king's eyes were opened. He withdrew the odious Ordinances, dismissed the ministry, and, finally, resigned in favor of his grandson. But all in vain. The temporary government merely accepted the resignation, and Charles went into exile, where he died a few years later.

641. A Limited Monarchy. — The legislature which Charles had tried to dissolve now met and elected Louis Philippe to the vacant throne, to the great chagrin of the Republicans. The "*citizen king*," as he was called, accepted the amended Charter. The old constitution had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added, "and by the will of the people." Louis Philippe ruled by election, and a constitution was forced upon him.

In this respect the Second French Revolution corresponded to

the English Revolution of 1688 (§ 460). In other respects it did not go so far. The most important changes are: (1) The right to introduce bills was given to the legislature; (2) the franchise was somewhat extended, but still there were less than two hundred thousand voters in a population of some thirty millions.

C. The Revolution of 1830 over Europe

642. Belgium. — Meanwhile the success of the French "July Revolution" stirred up risings in different parts of Europe. The most notable, and the most justifiable, of these occurred in the Netherlands. There the union of Belgium and Holland, decreed by the Congress of Vienna, had worked out to the disadvantage of the Belgians. Their share in the burdens of the state was disproportionately large, while the government constantly favored the northern section of the kingdom. King William I, a stubborn Calvinist, constantly interfered with the Catholic education of his Belgian subjects, and forced upon them Dutch language and Dutch officials. The long smoldering indignation burst into flames at the news of the "July Days" in Paris. The revolt spread rapidly, and, though checked several times, the Belgians with the moral support of England and France achieved their independence. A conference of the Powers in London declared Belgium independent and neutral forever.

643. Other Revolts. — Less successful was a rising of the *Poles* against the Tsar, to whom they had been delivered by the Congress of Vienna. The Poles fought with the courage of despair, but, deserted by every one, they were at last crushed with revolting cruelty by the Russian soldiery. They lost their separate constitution and became simply a Russian province.

In *Italy* and *Germany* there were numerous risings and riots, usually the result of machinations by secret societies. But, apart from a few concessions in some German states, they

achieved nothing. Of a new Spanish revolution we have to speak later (§ 800).

Reaction seemed once more victorious. Yet Metternich's system and the principles of the Holy Alliance had suffered somewhat. France left it and joined England in proclaiming "non-intervention." In the other countries of Europe the system continued for eighteen years more, but when the next Year of Revolutions came (1848), that system fell forever in Western Europe.

To comprehend its character, we have to study another, slow working revolution, begun long ago in England and now gradually extending over the continent.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger treats this period in Vol. III, §§ 380–396. For the contemporary religious history see MacCaffrey, I, Chap. I d-f. Macdonald, *A History of France*, Vol. III, pp. 246–297, may be consulted for a more detailed account of political events.

PART VI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XLIV

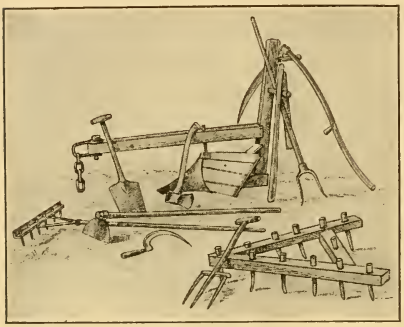
THE REVOLUTION IN METHODS OF WORK

644. What the Industrial Revolution was. — While France was giving Europe her first social and political revolution, with noise and blood, toward the close of the eighteenth century, England had been working out quietly an even greater revolution which was to change the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children over all the world. This "revolution" was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done; so we call it the "*Industrial Revolution.*" Though not wrought by the dazzling genius of kings and generals or the subtle minds of diplomats, it has more to do with the way in which you and I live to-day than all the political upheavals.

645. Industrial Conditions about 1775. — Our life and labor differs far more from that of our ancestors in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from that of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Frederick the Great and George Washington men raised grain, and wove cloth, and carried their spare products to market in almost precisely the same way in which these things had been done for centuries before. The Discovery of America had added corn (maize) and the potato to the world's food plants, and had enormously increased the production of sugar (in the West Indies) and so made its use more general. But in Europe itself a farmer rarely had a greater variety of vegetables in his garden than the ancient Roman farmer had. He scratched the soil with a clumsy wooden

plow, not unlike his Roman predecessor. He had no machines for horses to draw, except a rude harrow and a cart, almost as ancient in style. He sowed his grain by hand, cut it with the sickle, and threshed it out with the flail.

Carpenters', blacksmiths', and masons' tools were of ancient origin. All planing and other dressing of lumber was still done by hand, as was also the work now done by machines in furniture factories and joiners' shops. Merchandise was still carried from place to place on pack horses or mules, or sometimes in clumsy carts sinking to the axles in muddy roads; and travel was mainly on horseback, though coaches toiled along on a few main roads, six horses to each vehicle.



A Complete Assortment of Farm Tools in 1800.

No man living had ever dreamed of traveling by railway or steamship, or of communicating with absent friends by telegraph, or of reading by electric light or even by kerosene lamps. Household lights were dim, ill-smelling candles or smoky and flaring torches. If a householder carelessly let the fire in his fireplace go out, he borrowed live coals from a neighbor, or struck sparks into tinder with flint or steel. The few cities were still medieval. London was the only town in Europe that boasted of lamp posts; and there the light was supplied by a poorly burning oil. In Paris, on the main streets, the mud lay a foot deep in rainy weather. Arthur Young (§ 509), in 1787, wrote of Paris, — "Walking, which in London is so pleasant and clean that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well-dressed woman."

646. First Improvements. — *The first improvements came in England — in agriculture.* Early in the eighteenth century English landlords introduced a better system of crop rotation, raising roots, like beets and turnips, on the field formerly left fallow. This proved just as good for the ground, and it furnished more food and made it possible to keep more cattle. English farmers began to give much attention to breeding cattle and sheep, and so produced more beef and wool.

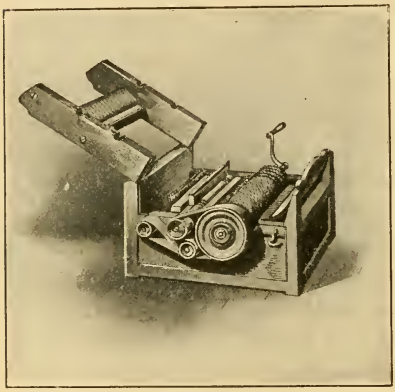
Then came mechanical inventions in agriculture. In 1785 the first threshing machine was invented, and the cast-iron plow appeared about 1800. This permitted deeper plowing and more rapid work. But for some time, even in America, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground. Drills, seeders, mowers, reapers, binders, were still in the future; but in 1800 the era of farm machinery was just at hand.

The next change was in *transportation.* England began to improve her main roads about 1750, building "turnpikes," with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from the travelers, to keep up repairs. A Scotch engineer, MacAdam, gave his name to macadamized roads.

The ancients had frequently dug canals and used them to carry goods. Louis XIV and Frederick the Great had constructed a few in France and Prussia. But England gave them a wholly new importance by introducing the lock system, to permit boats to pass from one level to another. The first lock system was built in 1761, to bring coal to Manchester from a mine seven miles away. And before 1800 England was better supplied with canals than she had been with roads in 1700.

647. The change that was really to revolutionize the working society, however, came not in farming nor in transportation, but in manufacturing, — and first in spinning. — In Elizabeth's time the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the *distaff* and *spindle,* as it had been from time immemorial.

But in the seventeenth century the distaff was replaced by the *spinning wheel*, run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however, drew out only one thread at a time, and a weaver with his clumsy hand loom could weave all the thread that eight spinners could supply. Hence they began to think about a swifter way of securing thread. In 1764 *James Hargreaves*, an English weaver, invented a machine where one wheel turned eight spindles and spun eight threads, instead of one. The thread, however, was not satisfactory for all kinds of cloth; so in 1771 *Richard Arkwright* devised a machine which ran the wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates of speed, to draw out the thread, and he drove these rollers by water power, not by hand, and so called his machine a "*Water Frame*." Four years later *Samuel Crompton* combined the invention of Hargreaves with that of Arkwright and produced a machine with which one spinner could spin two hundred threads at a time.



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN. — For separating the seed from cotton.

Now the weavers had too much thread for the old-fashioned hand looms, where the threads were first drawn out lengthwise on a frame, and the weaver drove his shuttle by hand back and forth between those threads with the woof (cross threads). *Edmund Cartwright*, an Anglican clergyman, in 1784, invented the "*power loom*," in which the shuttle threw itself back and forth automatically. Then the weavers could keep up easily; and by later improvements, before 1900, it became possible

for one man to weave more cloth than two hundred could in 1770.

The next need was more cotton ready to spin. *Eli Whitney*, an American, then invented his *Cotton Gin*, wherewith one slave could clean as much seed from the fiber as three hundred had been able to clean before. This was in 1793. In that year the United States exported 200,000 pounds of cotton. In 1800 the amount was 20,000,000 pounds, and three years later twice that amount. All this went to feed the new manufactures in England.

648. Better Driving Power. — To drive these new machines, water had largely replaced hand power; but water sometimes failed, and it was not present at all in many places where it would have been welcome. This need was supplied by James Watt's improvements on the steam engine.

The expansive power of steam was, of course, known long ago, and many had speculated on how it might be put to practical use. In the second half of the eighteenth century steam engines had been invented that could pump water, and they were used to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow, and they wasted steam and fuel. *James Watt*, an instrument-maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785, he had constructed an engine that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and which could transmit its power to wheels (and so drive machinery), by an arrangement of shafts and cranks. In the same year steam was first used to drive spinning machinery. Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in England than water wheels, and four had found their way to America.

But engines and power machines could be built in a satisfactory manner only from iron; and in 1790 the manufacture of iron was slow and costly, and the product was of inferior

quality. In that year, however, steam began to be used to furnish a new blowing apparatus which gave a steady blast of air, instead of the old bellows and like arrangements. Soon, too, better ways were found to change the brittle " castings " into malleable " wrought " iron.

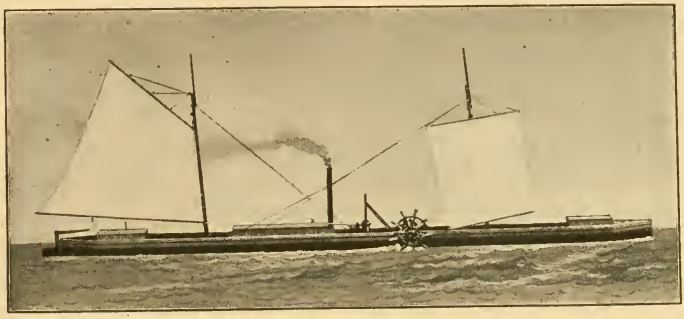
649. Thus, by 1800, the age of " steam and iron " had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe remained closed against it for some years longer, owing to the wars of Napoleon and his Continental System; but on his fall it began to win its way there also.

Before we leave this age of invention, we must note two applications of the steam engine, and also a few separate inventions, in all of which America had a large share.

650. The Steamboat. — Some of Watt's engines, we have said, found their way to America before 1800. Here, in that day, the chief need was locomotion. And since there was no time at first to build roads over our vast territory, we wanted first locomotion by water. Rivers were used to carry goods easily down the current; but some means to force a boat upstream were needed. Therefore, in America, ingenious mechanics at once sought to apply the new steam engine to navigation.

As early as 1789 John Fitch, a poor carpenter with a wonderful inventive genius, built a ferryboat with paddles driven by a steam engine of his own make. But Fitch could not raise money to extend the use of his invention, though for some time he ran his boat up the river at Philadelphia. At the same time, Oliver Evans, another neglected genius, built a steam engine suited for locomotion, but he, too, failed to secure financial support. Soon after, however, *Robert Fulton* was more fortunate. He, too, met with one rebuff. He offered his steamboat to Napoleon whereby that baffled conqueror might transport the waiting army from Boulogne to England in spite of English sailing vessels (§ 598). Happily, Napoleon rejected

him as a faker — and so lost his best chance to conquer England. Some three years later Fulton secured money from Chancellor Livingstone of New York. In 1807, amid popular jeers, Fulton launched the *Clermont*, furnished with an engine from England, and made a trial trip up the Hudson from New York to Albany, at about five miles an hour. The next year a regular line of



Fulton's Steamer, the Clermont.

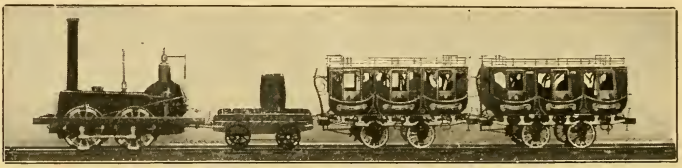
steamboats plied between the two cities, and men were eagerly waiting for their introduction elsewhere.

In 1811 the *Orleans* was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburg, to voyage to the distant city for which it was named. The War of 1812 interrupted steamboat building, but in 1820 sixty such vessels plied the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, and some of them were finding their way up the muddy Missouri, between herds of astonished buffalo.

651. The Railway. — If steam would drive boats, why not coaches as well? Experiments for land locomotives began at once. Short horse " tramways " had been used in some places in England for many years. A tramway was merely a line of rails on which carts were drawn more easily than on bare ground. Soon after 1800 Richard Trevithick in England used a steam engine to furnish power for a short tramway; but his was

really a stationary engine of the old type. What was wanted was a "traveling" engine. Several experimenters worked at the problem without success, until *George Stephenson*, in 1814, completed a locomotive which was used to haul carts of coal on tramways from mines to the nearest canal or river. In 1825 a passenger line twelve miles long was opened in England; and in 1828, in America, the aged Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, drove the gold spike that began the construction of the great Baltimore and Ohio line. The railway age had fairly begun. The tremendous importance of the railroads, however, did not show until some twenty years later. The early rails were of wood, protected from wear by a covering of iron "straps" — which had an awkward way of curling up at a loosened end. Fifteen miles an hour on early roads was considered an amazing speed.

652. After 1830 mechanical inventions to save time or to make human life more attractive or more comfortable followed



First Steam Passenger Train in America (November 12, 1831). — The engine was modeled upon Stephenson's "Rocket," which, some months before, had drawn a train from Manchester to Liverpool.

one another with great rapidity. A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass. The McCormick reaper (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1834, and multiplied the farmer's efficiency by twenty. Planing mills created a new industry in woodworking. In 1838 the English *Great Western* established *steam navigation between Europe and America*. In 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, began photography with his "daguerrotype." The magnetic telegraph, invented

in 1833 by the German scientist Gauss, was made effective by the American Morse in 1844. The other applications of electrical energy in the dynamo, the telephone, etc. belong to a later period. Of a more recent date, too, is the appearance of the far-reaching effects which these inventions had on the relations of nations to one another, on their policy and their quarrels.

CHAPTER XLV

THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS' LIVES

653. Immediate Results. — The introduction of machinery and of steam power showed at once (by 1800) several great results. The fundamental one was that *labor with the new machinery produced much more wealth,* that is, a greater abundance of material goods. This change ought to have been purely good. It should have meant a gain for all the world. Especially it should have meant more comfort and leisure to the workers. In reality, it meant something very different.

True, part of the increased wealth did go at last, and indirectly, to the common gain in lower prices. Every one, the workmen included, can buy cloth or hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution began. This is a gain. It makes possible more life and some better life. But the Revolution also resulted directly in much poorer life for just those who, we would have supposed, would be the first benefited. This was particularly true in the beginning. To understand this we must look once more at the condition of workmen before the invention of machinery.

654. Ruin of the Domestic System. — Under the *domestic system* (§ 418) all manufactures had been *handmade* (as the word *manufacture* signifies). Hours of labor were long and profits small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But the workmen worked in their own homes, under reasonably wholesome conditions. Their labor was varied. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil. Their condition resembled that of the farmer of

to-day more than that of the modern factory worker. Usually they owned a plot of ground about their cottage and drew part of their support from its cultivation.

But when the Industrial Revolution came the hand workmen could not match tireless iron machines driven by steam. They could not, for instance, produce enough cloth — at the price at which it was sold after 1800 — to support themselves, even with their garden spots. The Industrial Revolution came swiftly — upturning the whole system of manufacturing before a hale man turned into an old one. The hand workers could not at once understand the drift of the times; they could not see why these new contrivances of wood and iron should render worthless the skill which was theirs through generations of painful toil. Great numbers of them kept up a losing fight with the machine, for their lifetime, under harsher and harsher conditions.

655. The Factory System and the Capitalist. — But the most serious evils fell not upon the workmen who kept up the hopeless fight against steam and machine, but upon the hundreds of thousands of workmen who accepted the change and tried to work under it. The new machinery was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. It all passed into the hands of wealthy men, who hired workers to "operate" it. This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor. The old *slave system* gave way to *serfdom* in agriculture and to a *gild organization* in manufactures. Gilds gave way to the *domestic system*. And now the domestic system gave way to the present *Capitalist system*, or *Wage system*, or *Factory system*.

The *capitalist* was a new figure in European life, appearing first in England. He was not himself a workman, like the old "master" in the gilds or in the domestic system. He was only an "*employer*." He erected great buildings called factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary "raw

material" (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), and paid wages.

The workman now furnished nothing but his hands. Great numbers of men wanted work; and moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children, especially in cloth manufactures. So the capitalist could fix wages and hours of labor as he pleased. The workman was at his mercy. And if the capitalist was a new figure in high society, the *capitalless and landless worker* (*proletarian*) was a much more significant new figure in the "lower classes."

656. Thus the new manufacturing society was made up of two distinct and hostile classes. — Under the gild and domestic system, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be "master"; and at all times they lived on terms of constant intercourse with their masters, who worked side by side with them, shared their hardships, and took a fatherly interest in them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class, but, on the whole, *the line was as distinctly drawn* between the soft-handed capitalist and the hard-handed workman in 1800, as between the armored noble and stooped peasant in 1200. Moreover, the capitalist had no personal contact with his workmen. He employed not three or four, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands. He never saw them outside the factory, and did not even know their names except on the pay roll. There was no chance for real sympathy or understanding between the two classes.

The workman's work was more *monotonous* than before. The use of machinery was followed by a minute subdivision of labor. A workman who had formerly performed many different processes at different times, now spent his long day of labor in doing some simple set of motions over and over again, standing at one place from dawn to dark.

657. These changes, so far noted, are more or less permanent results of the Capitalist system. We have them still in our own day, but in 1800, in England, there was another result more immediately disastrous to the worker. *He was compelled to change his whole manner of life for the worse.* He must reach the factory within a few minutes after the first whistle blew, about sunrise, and stay there until sunset — all the time that it was light enough to work. So the capitalist built long blocks of ugly tenements near his factory, to rent; and the workmen moved from their rural village homes, with garden spots and fresh air, into these crowded city quarters.

The factory system produced cities with marvelous rapidity. In 1750 England was still a rural country, with only four or five towns that had more than 6000 people. In 1800 cities had leaped into life everywhere; more than 100 towns counted 5000 inhabitants, and in 1891 the number of such towns was 622. At the same time the total population grew. In 1700 the entire population of England and Wales was somewhere between four and five millions. In 1800 it was eight millions, and then it doubled during the first half of the century and again in the second half.

The factory system has helped to produce rapid growth of population and of cities in all civilized lands; but nowhere else (except in the United States where immigration had added millions) has the growth been so enormous as in England.

But the growth of cities brought new problems, which added to the misery of the workers, and were not solved for a long time. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage collection. The masses of the factory workers dwelt in denlike garrets and cellars — a family stuffed into a squalid room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and misery and vice. In 1837 one tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars.

658. The employment of women in the factories destroyed the home for a large part of the nation. But a worse feature, perhaps, was the employment of large numbers of children, often not sent there by their parents, but by greedy contractors. Parish authorities had power to take children from pauper families, and sold them to contractors, who auctioned them off, thousands at a time, to the great factories, where their life was a ghastly slavery.

Hours of labor, also for women and children, were much longer than now, ranging from twelve to sixteen a day, with no holidays except Sunday. It took a long time till law and parliament began to interest itself in these problems, chiefly because the capitalist controlled the legislative machinery of the country.

659. "Landlord England." — Another unhappy change, closely connected with the Industrial Revolution, *destroyed the small independent farmers in England.* The new profits in farming (§ 646) made landlords eager for more land. They controlled parliament; and that body passed law after law, after 1760, inclosing the "commons" for the benefit of their own class. The peasant farmers, having lost their old pasture lands by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who, alone, had money to buy the new machinery coming into use. Small farmers had to sell out, and usually moved into the cities, there to swell the unhappy numbers of factory hands. In 1700, in spite of the older inclosure movement (§ 415), England had still some 400,000 independent farmers, who, by 1800, had practically disappeared, and rural England had become a country of great landlords. Since this change, the classes connected with the land in England are three, — *landlords, tenant farmers,* and *laborers.* The first class comprises a few thousand gentry and nobles; they own enormous estates which they divide into "farms" of from one hundred to three hundred acres and lease

them out to tenants. These tenants are now generally prosperous, but, of course, they do not own their land, and are, also in other matters, largely influenced by their landlords. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany, but in no other country have they ceased so completely to be owners of the soil as in modern England. France with a population only a little larger has more than twenty times as many landowners.

The Industrial Revolution applies especially to the change in manufacturing due to the use of machinery and steam, in the period from 1760 to 1820. The Agricultural Revolution began earlier and was of less importance. It helped on the Industrial Revolution, however, by furnishing workmen for the new factories.

For Further Reading. — On industrial conditions a concise treatment, especially designed for high school students, is to be found in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*, 203–223.

Exercise. — Note the transitions in rural labor in England: (1) serf and villein labor to about 1350, and then a decay of that system until it disappears, about 1450; (2) inclosures (for sheep farming), driving a large part of the peasantry from the soil, 1450–1600; and after a prosperous period, (3) the new period of inclosures for large grain farming, 1760–1800. Note also the transitions in manufacturing: the gild system to about 1600; the domestic system, 1600–1760; the factory system of to-day.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE REVOLUTION IN IDEAS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

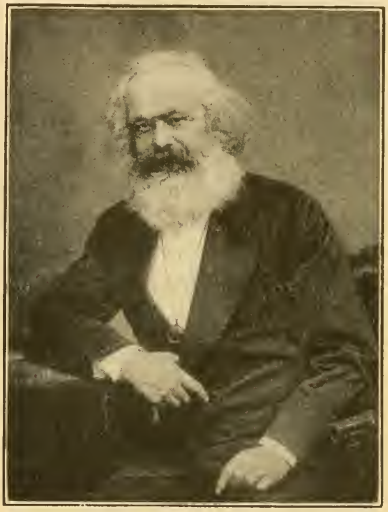
660. The "Let Alone" Idea. — The prosperous capitalist class resented all thought of interference in their business by government. Such interference in past times, they easily proved, had been foolish and harmful, even when best intended.

A group of scholars and writers put into form the new ideas about carrying on industry and producing wealth. They called their new science Political Economy. It was founded by Adam Smith, about the beginning of the American Revolution. The fundamental principle of his doctrine was that government must keep hands off, unless called in as a policeman to keep order. "Laws of supply and demand," it taught, were "natural laws" among men (as gravitation is in the physical universe) and could not be meddled with, except to do harm. Supply and demand must be left absolute to determine prices, quality of goods, wages, and other conditions of employment. Only so could the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" be secured.

This became known as the "*Manchester doctrine*," because it was so universal among manufacturers in that leading industrial center. It is also called by a French name, — *laissez faire* ("let alone" or "let it go"). English merchants accepted it no less readily than manufacturers, in their hatred of the old tariffs which hampered their trade; and it soon became almost a religion to the town middle class.

661. Socialism. — It is easy to see that this new doctrine suited the strong, but it was totally unchristian in its disregard for the weak. It produced prosperity for a few and misery for

the greatest number. The horrible conditions of the factory towns were its first fruits (§ 657). Gradually another view came into prominence and is to-day widely accepted. It is *Socialism.* While the " Let Alone " economists proclaimed absolute liberty for the individual, employer as well as employee, the Socialists go to the other extreme and preach absolute subjection to the state (understanding, however, a purely democratic state).



Karl Marx.

Socialism dates back to the French Revolution. The Third Estate, consisting chiefly of the middle classes and the capitalists of that time, had proclaimed liberty and equality for all, but practically reserved influence and power to themselves. In opposition to them, there sprang into existence a "fourth estate," the penniless proletarians (§ 657), to whom equality meant to be free and equal in misery. These victims of poverty became the first recruits of Socialism.

The first to raise the standard of Socialism was *Babeuf*, a Frenchman, who taught that all men are obliged to work, and that the government should apportion to each one his share of work, collect the products, and distribute the commodities. *Saint-Simon* held that industry should be the standard of all social institutions, and that, consequently, the workmen should be restored to the first place in society, of which they had been unjustly deprived. *Fourier* dreamed of a sort of human happiness, consisting in the gratification of all human instincts. But

the means of gratification, he taught, is organized labor. Every man, therefore, is entitled to remunerative labor and may demand it from the state, if he cannot obtain it elsewhere.

These three Frenchmen were contemporaries of the Revolution and profoundly influenced by its ideas, but also profoundly disgusted with the small amount of real advantage which this great upheaval brought to the lower classes.

662. Modern Socialists look on these early attempts as well-meant efforts of dreamers and unpractical enthusiasts. They trace their teaching to *Karl Marx*. Marx was born of Jewish parents, in 1818, in Germany. Later he and his family embraced Protestantism. After his studies at the university of Bonn he was admitted as private professor, but soon lost his position on account of his revolutionary ideas. He then went to France and later to England, where he spent the last forty years of his life in literary labors and the development of his system. This system is most completely explained in his book *Capital*, which for Socialists has become what Rousseau's *Social Contract* was for the French revolutionists. A brief summary is necessary for the understanding of modern Socialism.

Society as it exists to-day is not a natural product, but the result of injustice and spoliation. The sources of the evils that oppress the working classes are the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases in economic matters and the right of accumulating private property. An individual person may begin on a basis of equality with his fellows, but soon, by fair means or foul, may secure a great amount of wealth, set himself apart from his fellow-men, and thus destroy equality. Classes are formed, the few " capitalists " on one side, and the millions of workers on the other. To bring about a betterment of these conditions, the Socialists propose radical means. Private wealth is produced by the private ownership of the " means of production." Hence they are to be made property of the state. By " means of production " they mean all those things which

are not directly consumed, such as food and clothing, but are employed to produce more wealth, as land, mines, factories, raw materials, all means of transportation and public utilities. All these things have unjustly come into the hands of the capitalist, and should, therefore, go back to whom they belong, to the community or the state. To prevent the accumulation of such productive wealth in the future the state will take over the proper distribution of work and its products.

To achieve this change Socialists everywhere urge the workers to unite. "Unite and make the world your own," when all shall work, but none will have to work too much or too long. Not only nation-wide unions are to be founded, but a world-wide federation of labor is the Socialists' dream. Frequently, however, Socialists oppose legislation for the betterment of the working classes. This would only render the proletariat more contented and delay the great changes desired. "The wounds of the social body have to be kept festering," says one of their leaders.

663. The Catholic View. — Realizing the danger of these new and subversive doctrines, Catholic writers and leaders in many lands began to give their attention to the problems of social evils. Gradually they organized a movement for reform on Christian principles which has already won considerable success. The movement began in Germany (§ 786) in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it received its most powerful impulse from the authoritative pronouncements of *Pope Leo XIII.*

Catholics admit, of course, the evils which the Socialists propose to undo. But in tracing them to their sources and in suggesting the remedies they differ widely from their antagonists. The causes of the social evils are *not only economic, but moral and religious as well.* It is true that present economic conditions are far from satisfactory. Though production, on account of the introduction of machinery, has increased enormously, wages have not kept pace with that increase. Moreover, the

worker was formerly surer of his wage and less dependent on the employer. Now overproduction or the invention of new machinery may throw him out of work, or he may have to change from place to place unexpectedly and under great hardship.

But the moral and religious causes are not to be overlooked. The breaking loose from practical Christianity, so characteristic of the last two centuries, has developed an intense selfishness, a struggle for wealth in which each one seeks his own material advantage at the expense of his neighbor. It makes men look with bitter jealousy upon other more fortunate individuals. There is a widespread craving for excessive luxury, for living above one's means, for emulating the wealthy.

Leo XIII.

664. What, then, are the remedies proposed by Catholics?—Certainly not the adoption of Socialist views. That equality of men which the Socialists maintain is not true. Men are not equal in physical and mental endowments which make for success in competition. Private property in the means of production cannot be abolished without grave injustice to the owners and without depriving man of the strongest impulse to work and advance. Universal stagnation would be the consequence. The Socialists deliberately ignore, yea exclude, religion from coöperating in the solution of the great social

problem. They forget that man's happiness here below is not his ultimate end, that the Creator did not want equal wealth and equal material advantages for all. Many Socialist leaders have openly declared their hostility to all religion. Thus Karl Marx bluntly states, " The abolition of religion as the deceptive happiness of the people is a necessary condition for their true happiness."

The evils that afflict society to-day can be remedied, not by violent upheavals, but only by the *harmonious coöperation of the workers and employers, of the State and the Church.* The workers are to be encouraged to combine for mutual protection and resistance to oppression. The state, having at heart the temporal welfare of its citizens, should by wise legislation protect the workers, their rights, their health and morals, and that of their family. But the change of hearts which is so necessary for the cure of the modern evils is the principal task of religion. Hence the Church should be free to carry out her mission. She alone can effectively inculcate the duties of justice and charity, of forbearance and patience. She alone can console man in the inevitable sufferings of this life, not with vain hopes for an earthly paradise, but with the sure hope of reward hereafter. Happily, these ideas in recent times have been gaining ground, have favorably influenced legislation and everywhere revived the practice of genuine Christian charity.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the Catholic forces were poorly organized. Socialist ideas were in the air, even if not clearly understood; and they have much to do with the next period of revolutions in Europe, 1848.

For Further Reading. — There is a rich Catholic literature on Socialism and the Social Question. Probably the best criticism of Socialism in English is Cathrein-Gettelmann, *Socialism, Its Theoretical Basis and Its Practical Application.* A clear presentment of the Social Question, the history of Socialism, and the Catholic social movement, and one which is easily within the grasp of the high school student,

is Bishop Stang's *Socialism and Christianity*. Father Poland's pamphlet, *Socialism, Its Economic Aspect*, is a clear refutation of the fundamental tenets of Socialism on purely economic grounds.

Special Report. — A brief sketch of the Catholic social movement in Europe. See MacCaffrey, Vol. II, Chap. XII.

PART VII. CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848–1871

CHAPTER XLVII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

665. The "Orleans Monarchy." — Louis Philippe (§ 641) liked to be called the "Citizen King." He walked the streets in the dress of an ordinary prosperous citizen, with frock coat, silk hat, and a green cotton umbrella under his arm. As he owed his throne chiefly to the wealthy middle class ("Bourgeoisie") he relied on that class for support. For eighteen years, by skilfully picking his way between extreme demands, he managed to maintain himself in power. Still he was not popular. Perhaps he lacked insight into the French character. The nation had been accustomed to the glory of the Napoleonic era; it had often dictated the policy of Europe, posed as champion of "liberty and democracy." Louis Philippe was in their eyes too weak and unaggressive.

666. Policy of the King. — Louis Philippe wished above all to maintain peace, and abstained as much as possible from interference abroad. Peace was the desire of the middle class who were his chief support, and who prospered by the peaceful changes of the Industrial Revolution that just at this period transformed economic conditions in France. To retain the favor of the wealthier bourgeois he opposed any extension of the franchise, so that only the richer citizens enjoyed the right of voting. The middle class, too, held the military power, since it was organized into the National Guards — to which workingmen were not admitted.

In the legislature there were two main parties. *Thiers* (§ 638) led the *Liberals*, who wished a monarchy resembling that of England. At the same time they demanded an extension of the franchise and a more aggressive foreign policy. Thiers' life-long opponent, the historian *Guizot*, led the Conservatives, who opposed all further changes toward greater democracy. From 1840 to 1848 he was the chief minister, giving France the most stable administration since the days of Napoleon. But in its desire to preserve tranquillity the government ignored the need of reforms, partly made necessary by the changed industrial conditions. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt tax, to extend education, to reform the old-fashioned postal system, to improve the prisons, were alike suppressed.

The Catholics, who had been closely allied to the government of Charles X (§ 637), now assumed a more independent attitude. Under able leaders, like the brilliant writer and orator, *Count Montalembert*, they began to agitate for greater freedom in religious education, and, in general, for greater independence from the state. Guizot, though himself a Huguenot, was inclined to favor them more than Thiers and the old Republicans.

We have seen how the Seven Years' War left France practically shorn of all her colonies. Under Louis Philippe's rule rather timid attempts were made toward a new colonial empire, not in America or India, but nearer home, in northern Africa. Charles X had taken *Algiers* (§ 638) and now the French extended their territory westward as far as *Morocco*. But English jealousy and the fear of foreign entanglements prevented them from reaching the Atlantic. A more serious setback they experienced in *Egypt*. There the Turkish viceroy in a successful revolt renounced the authority of the Sultan and occupied territory outside of Egypt. France heartily supported the rebel, but a conference of England, Russia, and Prussia compelled him to give up most of his claims. Thiers, then minister of Louis Philippe, objected vigorously, and war seemed immi-

nent. But the king dreaded it, Thiers had to resign, and Guizot stepped into his place.

667. Guizot resorted to rather questionable means to maintain the ascendency of the middle class. — The franchise, we saw, was very narrow. Guizot organized the vast *patronage of the government* to obtain the continued support of the Deputies. In America the constitution forbids the President to appoint congressmen to paid offices, such as postmasters or custom-house collectors. But in France it was the regular practice to make members of the legislature " placemen " of this sort, as in England a century earlier (§ 465). This evil was the greater since in France the government appointed not only national officials, as with us, but also all local officials, like our own county and state officials and city mayors and chiefs of police. Thus the government had about 300,000 offices to buy votes with. Then when the election was over, the ministry strengthened its majority in the Chambers by appointing the members to profitable offices, or by giving lucrative business contracts from the government. It is easy to see how Guizot thus was able to create a complacent legislature.

Thiers, now the leader of the opposition, came forward with the demand (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, (2) to widen the franchise. In reality these proposals were to be the lever to unseat Guizot. Thiers himself, when in office, had made extensive use of the patronage. Guizot and his majority rejected the demand. Thiers, then, turned to bring public opinion to bear on the legislature. Mass meetings were held and discontent stirred up. The government forbade the agitation — and thereby brought on the *Revolution of 1848*. This revolution was the work of the Socialists, who had been growing strong, almost unnoticed by the leaders of either party.

668. Until 1825, when the **Industrial Revolution** was fairly completed in England, it **had not yet begun in France.** But in

the next twenty years it grew rapidly. While in 1825 cloth manufacture was still carried on under the "Domestic System," there were about 30,000 power looms in operation in 1846. The use of steam and the railway had, likewise, appeared so that in 1850 France counted more than 5000 steam plants. Late as this is, the Industrial Revolution came in France sooner than in any other country on the continent.

By 1848 a large factory population had grown up in cities like Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris. Moreover, the French workingmen were influenced by the new socialistic ideas more than the working class of any other country. Nor is this a matter for surprise. These ideas had their origin in the French Revolution (§ 661), and, like all ideas of that turbulent period, developed most rapidly on their native soil. The chief spokesman of Socialism was *Louis Blanc*, a young editor, who insisted especially on the "right to work." Every man, he urged, has a right to profitable employment; to insure that right he wished the *government to establish workshops* in different trades and give employment to all who wanted it and could not get it elsewhere. In the end, he thought, the workers would manage and own the workshops. These and similar socialistic ideas appealed to the masses, already suffering from oppression by the capitalists and watching with bitter feelings the luxurious and vicious life of many among the upper classes. They now became the willing allies of Thiers. The old Republicans, led by *Lamartine*, who had been disappointed in the revolution of 1830 (§ 640), were ready to join in the attack upon the government. The secret societies, likewise, worked feverishly to organize risings.

669. The "February Days." — In 1848 the Liberals had arranged a great political demonstration in Paris, for February 22. The government prohibited it. The leaders obeyed, but all day the streets were filled with angry crowds, shouting for the downfall of Guizot's ministry. The National Guards, when

called out to disperse the crowds, themselves took up the cry. The next day Guizot resigned, and Thiers took his place.

Tranquillity seemed restored, but that night a collision occurred between the military and the crowd in which some fifty people fell. The Republicans and the Socialists seized the chance to rouse the masses against the monarchy. Bodies of the slain were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city. Barricades arose here and there, but the troops quietly restored order. Next morning, February 24, the minister ordered the withdrawal of the troops. Thereupon dense masses of insurgents, armed workingmen, National Guards, marched from all sides against the palace of the Tuileries, massacred the guards and destroyed the property of the royal family. Louis Philippe fled in disguise and escaped to England. His rule had lost the support of the middle classes and collapsed; with it fell the short-lived ministry of Thiers.

670. The Provisional Government. — The Chamber of Deputies was about to proclaim the infant grandson of Louis Philippe as king when the room was invaded by a howling mob, flourishing muskets and butcher knives, and calling for a republic. In the midst of this tumult a few deputies who kept their seats hastily formed a "*Provisional Government.*"

This body was at once escorted by the mob to the Hôtel de Ville (the city hall), where it found another provisional government already set up by the Radicals and Socialists. By compromise, some of this latter body were incorporated in the first. The Provisional Government was now made up of three elements: Lamartine represented the *moderate Republicans;* Ledru-Rollin was the representative of the *Radical Republicans* ("the Reds"), who wished to return to the "Terror" of 1793; and Louis Blanc represented the *Socialists.* On the whole Lamartine proved to be the guiding spirit.

671. "National Workshops." — The difficulties before the new government were tremendous. The wealthy middle class

was sorely disappointed at the turn of events. They never wished or dreamed of a republic; for there could be no doubt that such a change would destroy their influence and bring the Socialists to the front. And so it proved to be. The Government, to appease the masses, took a fateful step: It affirmed the principle of the "right to work." A few days later this decree was given more specific meaning by the establishment of "national workshops" for the unemployed. In the panic that followed the "February Days" great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The Government now organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a "workshop army," in brigades, companies, and squads, — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle.

Over one hundred thousand men, many of them idlers and agitators from other cities, were enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, the Government had no employment ready for such numbers. The enormous expense of the experiment had to be met by increased taxation. In the end the whole undertaking served only to give a formidable organization to a terrible force with which the new republic would soon have to reckon.

672. A new "Constituent Assembly," elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The Revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but felt no enthusiasm for a republic, and it abhorred the "Reds" and the Socialists. This, too, was the temper of the new Assembly. It accepted the Revolution, but it was bent upon putting down the Radicals.

As soon as this became evident, the mob rose once more (May 15) and burst into the legislative hall, holding possession for three turbulent hours. At last, however, some middle class battalions of the National Guards arrived to rescue the Assembly.

673. The "Days of June," 23–26. — The rescued Assembly decided to follow up its victory. On June 21, after making military preparations, it closed the "national workshops." This was a blundering end to a foolish experiment. The men of the national workshops rose, aided by their semi-military organization and commanded by leaders of military skill, though no one knew who they were. The Assembly appointed General Cavaignac to the command of the government troops. Both sides knew what was at stake: Order, or another "Terror." The conflict raged for four days, — the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. Over sixteen thousand men perished. Among the victims was the venerable Archbishop of Paris, who was shot when he mounted a barricade and tried to pacify the insurgents. Finally the superior discipline of the Assembly's troops crushed the rebels. Of the eleven thousand prisoners some were shot, others deported for life. The middle class now was once more in control of affairs.

NAPOLEON III.

674. The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. — The document was published in November, without being submitted to a popular vote. It provided for a legislature of one House and for a four-year president, both to

be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later (December 10), *Louis Napoleon*, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president by an overwhelming majority.

Napoleon owed his election to his name. Since the exile and death of the first Napoleon a "*Napoleonic Legend*" had grown up which cast a halo about his memory. Bonaparte's crimes and tyranny were forgotten; he came to be regarded by the masses as a truly great patriot who was pursued by the Allies because he loved France so well. His portrait as emperor was to be found in half the peasants' cottages from Flanders to the Pyrenees. Brilliant writers and poets had made him a national hero. In countless village taverns his old soldiers told tales over their wine, of his victorious campaigns. In 1840 his remains had been brought back from St. Helena to Paris amid outbursts of enthusiasm.

Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become the laughingstock of Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of Socialism, Napoleon's name seemed the symbol of order and peace. He received over five and a half million votes, to about one and a half million for General Cavaignac, his next rival.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, 1852–1870

675. Preparation: Quarrel between Napoleon and the Assembly. — Napoleon had repeatedly pledged his faith to the constitution, but he plotted from the first to overthrow it. In this the Assembly played into his hands. Being essentially a middle class body, it was in mortal fear of the Radicals and the socialistic working classes. To check them it at once curtailed the freedom of the press and, in 1849, it "reformed" the election laws in such a manner as to deprive about three million workingmen of their vote. After the law was passed, Napoleon criticized it vehemently, and so appeared to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the masses made the middle class fear a new revolution; and that class, too, turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. The old Royalists lacked union, being divided into adherents of the grandson of Charles X and of Louis Philippe or his son. Moreover, since the clergy largely favored Napoleon and since the Royalists were most numerous among the Catholics, Napoleon had little fear of resistance from that quarter. All classes dreaded the close of Napoleon's four years' presidency and the possibility of another revolution. The constitution forbade a reëlection; and an attempt to mend this clause was defeated in the Assembly. As a consequence that body lost the support of all classes, and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity.

676. The Coup d'État of 1851. — In semiroyal progresses through the country Napoleon had been preparing the nation for his plans. He freely found fault with the Assembly, and his speeches were filled with references to the "glory" of the

former French Empire, and to the benefits conferred upon France by "my great uncle." All important offices in the army and civil administration were put into the hands of his tools and trusted friends; and, on December 2, 1851, he carried out the most striking *coup d'état* in all French history.

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly (Thiers and Cavaignac among them) — were privately arrested and imprisoned; and all printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards. These announced the dissolution of the Assembly, proposed a new government with Napoleon at its head, and promised an appeal to the nation for ratification.

The Assembly was dispersed by soldiers and most of the members imprisoned. During the next few days the Radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets, but the troops easily took them and restored order. The unsafe districts of France were put under martial law, and the police continued the work of "pacification" by numerous arbitrary arrests and transportation to penal colonies.

Under these conditions, on December 21, the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution, making Napoleon President for ten years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of more than six million out of eight million. And everybody foresaw the next step. In November of the following year a still larger vote made the daring adventurer *Emperor of the French*, under the title Napoleon III. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.) On December 2, the anniversary of the coronation of the first Napoleon, he was solemnly enthroned. From this account it is plain how closely Louis Napoleon followed the footsteps of "my great uncle."

The unanimity in the vote was due partly to shameless interference at the polls. The army voted first, for an example. In many places the rural population was marched to the polls under military authority. Such measures, however, were hardly necessary to secure a large majority. Apart from a small number of Royalists, Republicans, and Socialists, France threw itself into the arms of Napoleon.

677. The "Second Empire" was modeled closely upon that of Napoleon I. — The people elected a Legislative Chamber (with a little more power than under the First Empire), but the emperor appointed a Senate and a Council of State, and, for some years, he kept in his hands the sole right of introducing laws. Moreover, of his own will, he filled all offices, made treaties, and declared war.

Political life was nearly suspended. The government presented for every elective office its own candidate, for whom the way was made smooth and easy. The opposition was seriously hampered in holding meetings and in using the mails for the spread of campaign literature. The police supervised the ballot boxes and, no doubt, sometimes "stuffed" them. Hostile newspapers were freely suppressed, and those favorable to the government heavily subsidized. An extensive system of espionage watched every suspected person. Under the "Law of Public Security" Napoleon could legally and without trial send suspects to penal colonies, as he had been doing illegally before. Upon the passage of this law (1858) an order was sent to every prefect to arrest a fixed number of persons in his department, using his choice in selecting them. The purpose was merely to intimidate the nation.

During the last ten years of his reign Napoleon grew more liberal. Greater freedom of debate was granted to the Chamber, and, toward the end, even the odious "Law of Public Security" was repealed.

678. The Empire gave to France great material and economic

progress. — Industry was encouraged. Paris and the government itself started vast new enterprises which gave employment to thousands of men. The capital and other leading cities were rebuilt upon a magnificent scale. Education and charitable work flourished. Napoleon displayed great splendor at his court; and the court set the pace for the upper classes and those who found themselves rapidly enriched by the progress of industry and commerce. But the moral tone declined proportionately, and the vices of high society increased the discontent of the working classes, among which there was a vast amount of misery and wretchedness. Socialism, which had received so severe a check in the "June Days," was far from dying out. From the smoldering ashes there was to leap a frightful conflagration when the glittering structure of the Second Empire collapsed before the foreign foe (§ 712).

679. Foreign Wars to 1860. — In 1852 Napoleon had declared "The Empire means Peace;" but he found himself irresistibly impelled to war, in order to keep the favor of the army and the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire. His foreign policy soon became aggressive; and the first eight years of his reign saw a series of victories that dazzled France. For forty years, — ever since the fall of Napoleon I, — Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them. The two most important wars of this period were the *Crimean* (1854–1856) and the *Italian* (1859).

a. France, for a considerable time, had under her protection the Roman Catholics in the Turkish Empire. *Russia* performed the same office in regard to the schismatical Greek Catholics. Tsar Nicolas, convinced that *Turkey*, the "sick man of Europe," could not last much longer, made use of his protectorate to put forward greater demands, thereby to provoke the Turkish Sultan to war, which would have enabled him to annex the best part, if not all, of the Turkish dominions. *England*, fearing lest Russia should advance to the Mediterranean and

endanger her route to India, ranged herself on the side of Turkey. Napoleon did the same, to maintain French prestige at home and abroad. The struggle was waged mainly in the Crimea, Russia's naval base,[1] and took its name from that Black Sea peninsula.[2] Russia was defeated, but no permanent results of importance were achieved. However, at the close of the contest, Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading Powers in a *Congress at Paris*, and France seemed again to have become the leader in European politics. Napoleon was then at the height of his power, and as a son was born to him just as the Congress was sitting, the future of the Napoleonic dynasty seemed assured.

b. The delegate sent to the Congress by Sardinia, an Italian state which had taken part in the Crimean war, was *Count Cavour*, the man destined to make modern Italy. He left the Congress with definite promises from Napoleon to assist Sardinia in driving the Austrians out of their Italian possessions. In 1859 Napoleon was called upon to redeem his pledges (§ 696). He came and won striking victories at *Magenta* and *Solferino*, near the scene of the early triumphs of the First Napoleon over the same foe; and then he made an unexpected peace, to the dismay and wrath of the disappointed Italians. For his pay, Napoleon received from Sardinia *Nice* and *Savoy*, and so recovered for France some of the territory which was lost in the second peace of Paris (§ 618).

680. But the second half of Napoleon's rule was a series of humiliations and blunders in foreign affairs. — Napoleon favored

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[1] The Crimea was the scene of the famous siege of Sebastopol, of the battles of Inkermann and Balaclava. Read Tennyson's "Light Brigade."

[2] In this campaign Florence Nightingale, a wealthy Englishwoman, with a band of devoted ladies, distinguished herself greatly in the care for the sick and wounded soldiers. The Red Cross organization for nursing the wounded soldiers is of later date. In 1864 an international convention was held at Geneva, Switzerland, which arranged that those who took care of the wounded should not be fired on in battle. Their emblem, the white flag with the red cross, is the flag of Switzerland with the colors reversed.

the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War and repeatedly urged England to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. Thus he incurred the hostility of the United States.

Then, in 1863, he entered upon a disastrous scheme in *Mexico*. That country, in one of its chronic revolutions, had repudiated its debts. Several European governments had sent fleets to its ports to compel payment to their citizens; but soon it became plain that Napoleon meant more than a mere collection of debts. Thereupon the other governments withdrew from the enterprise. Napoleon then sent a large army to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to set up as "Emperor of Mexico" his protégé, *Maximilian*, an Austrian prince, brother of the late Emperor Francis Joseph.

Napoleon expected (1) to secure to France a larger share in the Mexican trade; (2) to increase the prestige of France as an arbiter in the destinies of nations; and (3) to forward a union of the Latin people of Europe and America, under French leadership, as an offset to the ever growing power of the Anglo-Saxon states. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States; but his purpose seemed triumphant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon shamefully abandoned Maximilian to his fate; and the latter was soon overthrown by the Mexican Republicans, captured and shot.

Much more serious were a number of checks in Napoleon's attempts on the *Rhine frontier*. These brought about his fall in 1870. That story will be told after we have studied the rise of Germany.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, §§ 420–425. A lucid exposition of the events treated in this and the preceding chapter is to be found in Seignobos, *Europe since 1814*, chapters V and VI. Consult also Hazen and Hayes.

CHAPTER XLIX

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1848

681. The year 1848 was the "Year of Revolutions." — In central Europe Metternich's system had lasted until that time. Discontent, however, had long been rife. Two parties opposed the system: those who longed for a strong united Germany with reasonably liberal constitutions, and the more radical elements whose ideal was the First French Republic or a state founded on socialistic principles. Metternich himself — now an old man — saw the storm clouds. In January, 1848, he wrote to a friend, "The world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, the February rising in Paris gave the signal for March risings in other lands. Metternich resigned and fled from revolutionary Vienna; and the thrones tottered all over Europe, — except in stable conservative England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia on the east. Even in these two the tremors of distant convulsions were felt.

Within a few days, in Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, the kings, to save their crowns, granted constitutions and many liberties. In every German state, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in Italy, in the leading states, — Sardinia, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Naples. In all those countries the administration passed for a time into the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform. Everywhere, too, the remaining feudal privileges were finally abolished.

Outside of France (§§ 665–674), the chief interest centers (1) in *Austria*, the storm center; (2) in the *Germanic Confedera-*

tion, so long under the control of Metternich; (3) in *Italy*, part of which was subject to Austria.

A. The Revolution in the Austrian Empire

682. Outbreak in Vienna. — In the provinces of Austria proper there had been, on the whole, little discontent during Metternich's administration. Restrictions on the press, absence of popular vote for parliament, were hardly felt by the common people who enjoyed tranquillity and a moderate amount of prosperity. Gradually, however, revolutionary ideas entered the country, here as elsewhere fostered by foreign secret societies and their emissaries. The Italian revolutionaries, especially, took pains to foment discontent in order to prepare the way for the overthrow of Austrian rule in Italy. These new ideas found their most fertile soil at the universities among the students.

March 14, two weeks after the French rising, the students of the university of Vienna began street riots, to the cry, "Down with Metternich." The mob of the city joined them, and Metternich resigned and secretly made his escape from the capital. The crowds about the imperial palace began to call for a constitution with freedom of speech and an elected legislature. The emperor promised these and other reforms and appointed a liberal ministry. National Guards were then organized, and a committee for the "defense of the rights of the people" was formed. But when this committee went further in its demands the ministry dissolved it. New riots followed, during which the weak Emperor Ferdinand left the city, and the whole government fell into the hands of the rioters and the newly formed National Guards. Faithful to the French model, they at once organized a "Committee of Public Safety."

683. Outbreak in Bohemiá and Hungary. — But in the Austrian Empire the revolutionary movement was complicated by the racial problems. The monarchy included many peoples and several distinct states. Two of these now demanded more

self-government. These were Bohemia and Hungary. In the former the Slavic *Czechs* were the predominant race, in Hungary the *Magyars* (who are not Slavs, but originally a Mongolian tribe). The Bohemian Slavs summoned a congress of all Slavic peoples within the empire to Prague, the capital of Bohemia. Its purpose was greater freedom and greater union for all the Slavs within the empire. There was no thought of complete separation from Austria. In fact, Palacky, the president of the congress, is the author of the famous phrase, "If the Austrian Imperial State did not exist already, it would have to be invented." However, side by side with these moderate elements there were in Prague many extremists, university students, fugitive foreign revolutionists, and the like. It was this body that flew to arms and was subdued only after sanguinary street fighting by the Austrian troops. The congress broke up, without accomplishing anything.

The Hungarians demanded a separate ministry, the annual summons of their Diet, and the abolition of the censorship of the press. Ferdinand granted these demands, since for the present he was unable to resist with armed force. For the troops were needed in Italy where the revolution had broken out in the Austrian provinces there. (See *C.* below.)

684. The Hungarians were not satisfied with the concessions so far obtained. — Under the leadership of *Louis Kossuth*, a journalist with republican ideas, they began to sever one after the other the bonds of union with Austria. On the other hand they endeavored to tighten their hold on the Slavic peoples in Hungary, thus claiming liberty for themselves while denying it to others. But the Slavs were unwilling to bear the Magyar yoke and were encouraged in their resistance by the court of Vienna, to which, in the meantime, the emperor had returned. Jellachich, the Slavic governor of Croatia, marched against the Hungarian capital. The emperor, after an attempt to reconcile the Magyars had failed, appointed Jellachich com-

mander in chief of the imperial troops in Hungary, and civil war began. The new purely Hungarian army raised by Kossuth defeated Jellachich, who passed over into Austria. The Hungarian revolution seemed victorious.

685. Failure of the Revolution in Vienna and Hungary. — To prevent imperial troops from going to Hungary the revolutionary party organized a new outbreak in Vienna. The emperor fled again, but the troops that had quashed the insurrection in Prague now marched upon Vienna and were joined by Jellachich's forces. The city was stormed after bloody fighting, and the leaders that did not escape suffered the penalty of high treason (October 31, 1848).

In December of the same year Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and was followed by his nephew *Francis Joseph*. He at once gave a general constitution to the entire monarchy, which involved the abolition of all separate constitutions. The Hungarians refused to acknowledge the abdication of Ferdinand and the new constitution, declared their independence, and proclaimed the *Hungarian Republic* with Kossuth as president. The young emperor determined to crush the rebels, but his troops were defeated in several successive engagements. Kossuth and his friends were jubilant, but they had not reckoned with the possibility of foreign intervention. Such intervention now came from Russia. Tsar Nicolas, who feared that the revolution, if successful, might spread to his Polish territory, offered armed assistance to Francis Joseph. The young ruler accepted, and the combined Russian and Austrian armies soon put an end to Hungarian independence. Kossuth and others escaped, but a large number of Magyar leaders were put to death. Hungary lost its separate government and its Slavic provinces and was completely merged in the Austrian Empire. The galling memories of these events were obliterated only in 1867, when they received back their self-government and their lost provinces.

B. The Revolution in Germany

686. Prussia. — The news of the March risings in Vienna reacted on *Berlin*. But, again, the common people did not dream of violence and bloodshed. Only a handful of Radicals and Socialists stirred up revolt. Disturbances began on March 15. Three days later King Frederick William IV promised to work for a regeneration of Prussia and Germany by coöperation with representatives of the people. An immense crowd gathered before the royal palaces, ostensibly to thank the king. But with the cheers were mixed cries for the withdrawal of the troops and insults against the army. Two chance shots fired in the air turned the enthusiastic crowd into a raging mob. Barricades rose as if by magic. A murderous fight ensued from street to street; the soldiers were victorious, but only after about two hundred persons had fallen. The king, desirous of preventing further bloodshed, ordered the troops to withdraw and sent his brother William (later emperor) out of the city, as he was an object of special dislike to the people.

Next day the king was forced to stand bareheaded on the balcony of his palace while the funeral procession of the victims passed by. Numerous concessions were made to popular demands. The king called a Prussian Assembly that was to work upon a new constitution. He also tried to head the movement for German national union. "From now on," he declared, "the interests of Prussia will be absorbed by those of Germany."

687. The Frankfort Parliament. — The year 1848 saw in Germany a real "people's movement" for national unity and reasonable liberty. In March about five hundred delegates, rather informally chosen and in no sense representing the nation, met at Frankfort (the seat of the Diet of the Germanic Confederation) and prepared the way for a national assembly to be elected by manhood suffrage in every German state. The elections were duly held, the people taking an enthusiastic part

in them. On May 18 the first really representative parliament began its sessions in Frankfort. It elected Archduke John of Austria administrator, and gave him a responsible ministry. The old Diet of the Confederation recognized the new assembly and disbanded.

The parliament was made up of men of talent and lofty character but of very little experience in politics. It frittered away its time in debating on theories and bills of rights while all chance of securing rights was being lost. For in the meantime Austria, where the most determined resistance to any change in the Confederation was to be expected, had crushed the revolt in Bohemia (§ 683) and Italy (§ 692) and thus had her hands free for an eventual interference in German affairs. The king of Prussia had quarreled with his constitutional assembly and dissolved it; he himself, then, granted a constitution, but of very conservative character; his enthusiasm for popular assemblies began to cool off.

St. Paul's Church at Frankfort, where the Frankfort Parliament met.

Two questions of the greatest importance confronted the Frankfort Parliament and divided it into parties: (1) should the new German state be a monarchy or a republic; and (2) should the new nation include Austria with her vast non-

German population. On the first point they easily came to an agreement. The vast majority of the delegates would not hear of a republic. But the second question called forth endless debates. The party of Little Germany, as it was named, favored the total exclusion of Austria, while the Great Germany party demanded the inclusion of the Hapsburg lands, but was divided on the further question whether all of Austria or only her German-speaking peoples should be included. Intimately connected with these disputes was another point, whether Austria or Prussia should hold the leadership of the future German state.

The discussions on these questions were protracted until spring, 1849. Finally the parliament decided that Austria should be excluded and that the crown of the new German Empire should be offered to the king of Prussia. But unfortunately neither Austria nor Prussia would agree to these proposals. The former had in the meantime regained control over her rebellious provinces. In answer to the Frankfort resolution she curtly announced that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the Germanic Confederation nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible Austrian monarchy." And when, in spite of this, a delegation of the parliament waited upon the king of Prussia and offered him the dignity of German Emperor, he declined, declaring he would accept only if all the German states (that is, their princes) would give their consent. Privately, he held the Frankfort assembly in contempt as a body tinged "with the odor of revolution." As the consent of all the princes was out of the question, the hopes of the patriots were shattered. The parliament disbanded. Some of its more radical supporters started local revolutions here and there in the smaller states; they were quelled, chiefly with the help of Prussian troops. The leaders fled, some, like Karl Schurz and General Sigel, to the United States.

688. Other Attempts. — After the failure of the people Prussian statesmen tried another way of forming a German union, to the exclusion of all Austria. In the summer of 1849 Prussia entered into an alliance with several North German states, with the intention of gradually extending the alliance over all Germany. But Austria protested and organized the South German states into a counter-league. Then she demanded the restoration of the Germanic Confederation of 1815. For a while it seemed as if Austria and Prussia would go to war over the question of German unity, but the Prussian army was not ready, and the Tsar offered to aid Austria in Germany as he had done in Hungary. Frederick William IV, who in the meantime had given a constitution of his own to Prussia, feared to break a lance for a German constitution; in a conference at Olmütz (November, 1850) he yielded to all demands of Austria.[1] The old Confederation with its powerless Diet at Frankfort was restored. The problem of unifying Germany was to be solved twenty years later, not by parliaments and conferences, but by the "blood-and-iron" policy of Bismarck.

C. The Revolution in Italy

689. A Review to 1815. — Italy had been in fragments since the days of the Roman Empire. The migration of nations and the settling of the barbarians on Italian soil had created a population different from the race that once had ruled the world. It was different, too, in the various parts of Italy. The North, where the Lombards had settled, became more Teutonic in character and temper, while the South remained more Latin. Throughout the Middle Ages foreign nations, the Germans, French, and Spaniards, had alternately ruled parts of the peninsula and left on them the traces of their character and institutions. This explains why down to the nineteenth century

[1] This was called the "Humiliation of Olmütz."

few, if any, Italians conceived the idea of a united and independent Italy. This idea was born under Napoleon's régime. His proclamations to the Italian people awakened hope for a new national life and his introduction of civil equality and uniform law paved the way for it (§§ 582, 591, 605).

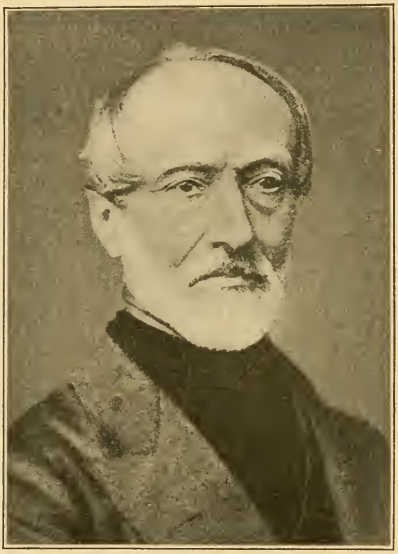
Then, when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon in 1813 and 1814, the generals of the Allies enkindled the enthusiasm of the Italians by glowing promises. An English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independence"; and the Austrian proclamations announced: "We come to you as liberators. Long have you groaned beneath oppression. You shall be an independent nation."

690. The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises. — Even some of the improvements of Napoleon were undone and absolutist conditions restored. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces (§ 615), and most of the remainder of the peninsula was handed over to Austrian influence. Bourbon rule was restored in the South over the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Dukes dependent upon Austria were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and the Two Sicilies lay the restored Papal States. In the northwest the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was given back to its native line of rulers, to whom the people were loyally attached. This and the Papal States were the only Italian principalities where the rulers were not dependent on Austria. But Sardinia, like the rest, was, until 1848, a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is a mere geographical expression."

691. From 1815 to 1848. — The story of the Italian revolutions of 1820 and of the interference of the "Holy Alliance" has been told (§§ 630–633). We have seen, too, that nearly all these revolutions were the work of secret societies, the Carbonari and others. In 1831, after the "July Revolution" in France, new revolts broke out in the Papal States and in the duchies;

they failed, partly for lack of popular support, as they were merely the work of conspirators. Austrian troops were marched into the affected districts and made short work of the insurrections.

The failure of the Carbonari in all the risings since 1820 induced *Mazzini*, a young lawyer of Genoa and an ardent admirer of the French Revolution, to found a new secret society. He called it "*Young Italy*." Its aim was the establishment of a united Italian republic which meant, of course, the overthrow of the Italian princes as well as the expulsion of the Austrians and the abolition of the temporal sovereignty of the pope. To achieve its end the new society was to use "thought and action," that is, literary propaganda and incessant insurrections. A fierce hatred of the Catholic Church as the principal enemy was one of its characteristics; many of its members hoped that the destruction of the Papal States would mean the end of the papacy. Young Italy spread rapidly through the peninsula and beyond it. It found imitators in France, Germany, Switzerland, and many other European states. The first risings organized by Young Italy occurred in 1833 and 1834, but they were speedily subdued. Mazzini fled to London and made that city the center of his intrigues and conspiracies. *Joseph*



MAZZINI.

Garibaldi, another member of the society who was destined to play an important part in later insurrections, fled to South America.

Another party of *Moderates* abstained from violent means. They sought to promote the cause of Italian unity by their writings by which the enthusiasm of the people was to be aroused. Usually these Moderates favored a confederation of the existing Italian states, somewhat after the pattern of the United States of America.

In 1846 the gentle and generous *Pius IX* ascended the papal throne. He was credited with liberal and progressive views, and his first acts justified these expectations. He began his reign with an extensive amnesty of political criminals who were in Roman prisons on account of their share in previous revolts. Relaxation of press censorship, the creation of a liberal ministry and of National Guards, and finally the appointment of a commission to draw up a constitution for the Papal States were measures that excited universal enthusiasm; many of the Moderates believed that the new pope would head a movement for the unification of Italy. But later he was ill requited for his generosity; many of those whom he had released from captivity at once began to intrigue against him, excited the people to demand impossible changes, and thus prevented sane and reasonable reform.

692. The Revolution of 1848. — On the news of the flight of Metternich from Vienna, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian garrisons (March 15) and set up provisional governments. King *Charles Albert of Sardinia*, to prevent an insurrection in his own state, put himself at the head of the revolutionary movement and declared war on Austria. Mazzini and Garibaldi returned, Naples and Tuscany joined Sardinia in the war; Pius IX was vehemently urged by the Roman Radicals to do the same, but as the common father of Christendom he steadfastly refused. England, on the other hand, se-

cretly and openly encouraged the rising and supplied arms and money.[1] But the tide turned against Charles Albert. The aged Austrian general, *Radetzki*, administered a severe defeat to the Sardinian king at *Custozza* (July 15), and pursued the retreating enemy as far as Milan, where the Austrian rule was

Pius IX and Members of the Papal Court.

reëstablished. Charles Albert then obtained a truce from the Austrian general.

Meantime the Radicals and Mazzinists in other states took matters in their own hands. In *Venice* and *Florence* they proclaimed the republic. Pius IX was driven from Rome by the revolutionary rabble that had gathered there from the entire peninsula (November 24). He found a temporary

[1] England's encouragement of the Italian revolts was prompted, partly by her sympathy with all liberal movements on the continent, partly by her desire to see a strong Italian state on the flank of Napoleonic France.

asylum in Gaëta near Naples. Mazzini and his friends then set up a *Roman Republic*, summoned a constitutional assembly which decreed the deposition of Pius IX, and decided for "pure democracy." The "patriotic" leaders, however, did not forget to fill their pockets with treasures stolen from the churches and religious institutions of Rome.

In northern Italy the radicals clamored for the renewal of hostilities against Austria. Charles Albert had to choose between that and the loss of his crown. He preferred war. But Radetzki won another brilliant victory at *Novara* (March 23, 1849), and Venice was retaken soon after. Charles Albert resigned in favor of his son, *Victor Emmanuel*. The defeat of Sardinia ended the revolution in the duchies.

The expulsion of the pope had aroused a storm of indignation in Catholic countries, especially in France. Louis Napoleon, then president of that country (§ 674), was forced by public opinion to send an expedition to Rome. The French troops stormed the city, and Mazzini and his friends sought safety in flight. Pius IX returned to Rome amid the wild rejoicing of his people. During the next twenty years (until 1870) a French garrison was stationed in Rome for the protection of the pope.

693. Summary. — The revolution as well as the attempts at national union had everywhere failed, chiefly because the movement was largely in the hands of radicals or unpractical theorists, whose words and actions offended the good sense of the majority. In Italy it closed with Novara (March, 1849), in Hungary with the fall of the Republic (July, 1849), in Germany with the humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz (December, 1850). A year later it closed in France with Napoleon's coup d'état (§ 676).

Still the problems remained. The popular demand for a greater share in the government would not stop. The union of the German states and the creation of a united Italy still

occupied men's minds. Both were to be accomplished in the near future, not by revolutionaries, but by unscrupulous statesmen.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, §§ 426–447. See works mentioned in previous chapter. On the revolution and the papacy read Maguire, *The Pontificate of Pius IX*, Chap. III–VII. Interesting information on the Italian secret societies and the revolution may be found in Parsons' *Studies*, Vol. V, Chap. XIV.

CHAPTER L

THE MAKING OF ITALY

694. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. — The abdication of Charles Albert of Sardinia and the accession of Victor Emmanuel mark a change in the history of the making of Italy. Up to this time the driving forces had been *secret societies* and *republican agitators*. Now *Victor Emmanuel* and his chief minister, *Cavour*, assume the direction of the movement, using the secret societies, "Young Italy," and the Republicans, as their tools. Italy is not to be a republic nor a confederation of the existing states, but merely an *extension of the Kingdom of Sardinia*. One state after another will be annexed to Sardinia, and after the process is nearly finished the ruler of Sardinia will simply assume the title of "King of Italy."

Cavour.

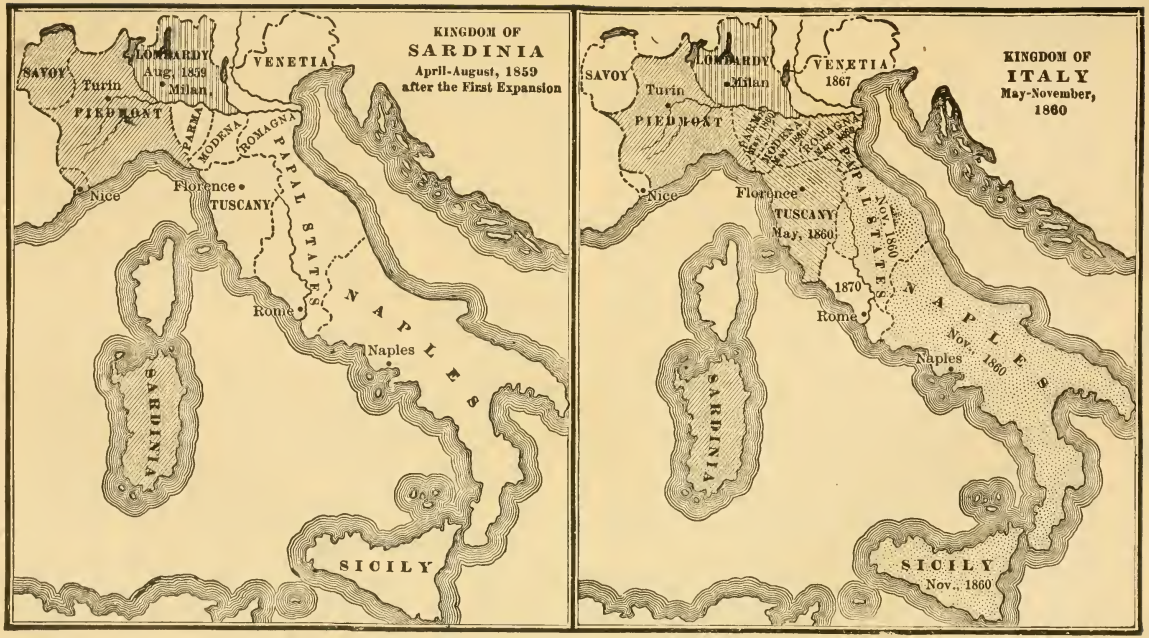
Count Cavour, one of the shrewdest statesmen of the nineteenth century, began his eventful career as prime minister of

Victor Emmanuel in 1852. The spirit which animated him showed itself soon in the wholesale suppression of monasteries and confiscation of their property, the deposition and imprisonment of protesting bishops. In order to accomplish his main object, the annexation of Italy to Sardinia, he strenuously labored to strengthen the military and economic resources of that little kingdom. The army was enlarged and remodeled after the Prussian plan, and the wealth of the country increased by reviving the shipping trade of Genoa. Sardinia had introduced a constitution in 1849, but the people were not yet ripe for an intelligent share in the government, and the king wielded as before almost absolute power.

695. Napoleon and Cavour. — The making of Italy meant war with Austria, for that state would never willingly relinquish its hold on the Italian provinces. The events of 1848 had proved that the Italians unaided were no match for the Austrian armies (§ 692). Cavour, therefore, endeavored to secure allies outside of Italy. He persuaded the king to send a small Sardinian detachment to assist France and England in the Crimean War (§ 679). Although Sardinian interests were in no way concerned in that war, it gave Cavour a chance to sit in the council of the Great Powers.

At the Congress of Paris, in 1856, his policy bore fruit. He had acquired a standing among the Great Powers and earned the gratitude of England and France, and he now made full use of it. In public discussions and private interviews he incessantly drew the attention of the European statesmen to the real and imaginary grievances of Italy. When the Congress adjourned he was sufficiently assured that in provoking a war with Austria he would have the assistance of France and the benevolent neutrality of the others.

696. First Step in the Sardinian Annexations. — After the Congress of Paris the war with Austria was the constant topic of correspondence between Cavour and Napoleon. The latter,



GROWTH OF ITALIAN UNITY, 1859–1870.

in promising his aid, was impelled, not so much by gratitude for the help received in the Crimean War, as by the desire to lessen Austrian power in Italy and to replace it by French influence. Cavour's pleadings with Napoleon were materially helped by an unexpected event. On January 14, 1858, a daring, though unsuccessful, attempt was made on Napoleon's life. The plot was carried out by an Italian revolutionist, Orsini, who had been expelled from Rome. Before his execution he wrote a letter to the French emperor and reminded him of the fact that as a young man he (Napoleon) had joined the Carbonari and had sworn to work for "the liberation of Italy." Napoleon took the warning. In a hurried interview with Cavour the two came to a definite agreement: in return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French (§ 618), and for a marriage alliance,[1] Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia with a French army, if Cavour could provoke Austria into a declaration of war.

Cavour then inveigled Austria into the attack. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring it his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of *Magenta* and *Solferino* (§ 679) drove the Austrians out of *Lombardy*, which was promptly annexed to Sardinia. This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy. The population of the growing state had risen at one stroke from five million to eight.

697. Venetia remained in Austria's hands, but Napoleon suddenly made peace. Cavour was enraged because of his breach of the promise to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But Napoleon had no wish that Italy should be one consolidated nation. His plans tended toward a *strong northern Italy* and in a vague way towards the *federation of all Italian states under the presidency of the pope*. Besides, public opinion among

[1] Victor Emmanuel was persuaded to sacrifice his young daughter by giving her in marriage to the dissolute Prince Napoleon, a cousin of Louis Napoleon.

French Catholics loudly condemned a policy which would eventually lead to the annexation of the Papal States Cavour, to save his popularity, resigned in disgust, but he remained as before the soul of the Italian agitation.

698. Second Step: The Annexation of the Duchies. — At the beginning of the war, insurrections, carefully prepared by Cavour and his secret agents, had broken out in the duchies. *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Tuscany* had driven out their dukes (dependents of Austria) and set up provisional governments. At the peace, Napoleon had promised to Austria that the dukes should be restored. Seeing, however, the indignation of the Italians at his half-kept promises and having not yet received his promised reward, Nice and Savoy, he gave Cavour to understand that the former governments of the duchies should not be restored against the will of their inhabitants. Cavour took the hint. The matter was to be left to *popular vote*. Everything was managed so cleverly that, in March, 1860, the three duchies by large majorities declared for annexation to Sardinia. This was the second step in the making of Italy. Sardinia was enlarged once more by one third and now became a state of eleven million people, comprising all Italy north of the Papal States, except Venetia.

699. The third step was due in its beginning to Garibaldi, who, in 1849 a republican, had now transferred his allegiance to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, he sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow-adventurers, to arouse rebellion in *Sicily*. Cavour, though he dissembled all participation in the expedition, had everything prepared for the success of the undertaking. The Sardinian embassy in Naples was the center of a network of intrigues spreading over the whole Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The loyalty of army and navy were undermined by bribery and conspiracy. After the expedition was safely under way Cavour, in a note to the Powers, expressed his "regret" at these illegal proceedings, but at the same time he

sent an order to the admiral of the Sardinian fleet, "Try to place your ships between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. I hope you understand me." The admiral understood very well that he was to protect, not to hinder, the expedition. Other orders commanded him to furnish supplies and money to Garibaldi and to the conspirators in Naples.

Garibaldi landed safely in Sicily and won the island almost without bloodshed. Treason did the work. Crossing over to the mainland, he easily occupied *Naples*, from which the king had fled (September, 1860). Elated by these successes he thought of conquering the Papal States and Rome and of summoning Victor Emmanuel to Rome, to be crowned King of Italy. But Cavour thought differently. He did not intend to let the conquest appear as the work of Garibaldi; for in that case he might have lost control of the movement, and the republican element, numerous among the followers of Garibaldi, might have proclaimed the Italian Republic.

As early as August 31, Cavour had written to one of his agents, "An insurrection will break out in the Papal States from the 8th to the 12th of September. Whether it is suppressed or not, we shall intervene." The "insurrection" promptly broke out, but was easily suppressed by the papal troops. It consisted practically of an invasion of Garibaldian bands. Cavour then curtly summoned the papal government to disarm its troops, the existence of which was "a constant menace to Italian tranquillity." This "menace" consisted of a few thousand volunteers for the defense of the rights of the Holy See. Among them were the noblest names of France, Belgium, Austria, Ireland, and Canada. Before the answer of Pius IX came, Victor Emmanuel at the head of a Sardinian army marched into the Papal States. The papal army offered heroic resistance, but was simply crushed by overwhelming numbers. Leaving Rome aside, the Sardinian army marched south to take up the war in Naples and to check the mad march of Garibaldi. The latter

had done his work; his services were no longer needed, and the king disbanded his followers. Rome and the surrounding territory was left to the pope; the rest of the Papal States, together with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, were allowed to vote on the question of annexation to Sardinia. Cavour easily obtained an imposing majority in favor of annexation. The third step of the expansion of Sardinia into Italy was completed.

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

700. The "Kingdom of Italy." — Sardinia now comprised all the peninsula except Rome and Venetia; and it reached from the Alps to Sicily. The last annexations raised the population from eleven to twenty-two million. The next year, in February, 1861, the first "Italian Parliament" met at Turin and voted to Victor Emmanuel the title "*King of Italy.*"

Cavour's statesmanship had so far been triumphant. His next move was directed toward obtaining Rome as the capital of the new kingdom. He first tried negotiations with the pope, but Pius IX steadfastly refused to give up his remaining territory. An armed invasion would have brought Cavour in conflict with Napoleon, who still maintained a French garrison (§ 692) in the city of the popes, so he attempted to induce Napoleon to withdraw it voluntarily. The French emperor would have liked to please Cavour, but Catholic opinion in

France was strongly opposed to the measure, and the garrison remained a little longer. Meantime the parliament at Turin and the mob loudly clamored for Rome as the capital, and Cavour himself in a speech declared the possession of Rome an "absolute necessity for Italy." But soon after this speech he died (June 6, 1862), leaving to his successors the completion of his work.

The acquisition of the remaining provinces, Venetia and Rome (1866 and 1870), was intertwined with the making of Germany.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, 456–471. Maguire, Chaps. XX–XXIV. Seignobos, Chap. XI.

CHAPTER LI

THE MAKING OF GERMANY

A. The Expulsion of Austria from the Confederation

701. William I of Prussia. — In Germany the years from 1851 to 1861 were barren of political results. The old Confederation, which satisfied nobody, except Austrian statesmen, had been reëstablished. Two things had by now become clear to all: (1) If German unity was to be realized it had to be achieved under the leadership of Prussia; and (2) it could not be achieved without recourse to arms, as Austria would never willingly give up her predominant position in the Confederation nor permit the change of the Confederation into a real unified state. Under Frederick William IV, however, Prussia was not ready for action. Her military forces were weak, and the country was torn by the strife between the reactionary and liberal parties. But all was changed when, in 1861, Frederick William was followed by his brother, William I. *The preceding ten years had seen the making of Italy, the next ten years were to see the making of Germany.*

William I, destined to become the most idolized of German kings, was the prince who had been banished for a time to satisfy the Liberals (§ 686). He always entertained a very high idea of royal rights and had, for this reason, bitterly resented the weakness of his older brother in the face of the Berlin March riots. Still more, he tingled with indignation at Prussia's humiliation of Olmütz (§ 688), and he was determined that nevermore should Prussia be thus thwarted in her designs. With the rest of Germany he hoped for national unification,

but he believed that unity could be achieved only after expelling Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

702. The Prussian army differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old class — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reënforced at need by levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia (§ 608). In 1807, after the disaster at Jena, Napoleon forced Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak by passing fresh bodies of recruits through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given two years' service; and part of each regiment was dismissed each year, and its place filled with new levies. Thus the Prussian army, according to Napoleon's own permission, was so cleverly managed as never to number more than 42,000 men at any one time. Those who passed out were held as reserves. After the Napoleonic wars were over Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make every man who was physically fit a trained soldier, but it had not been fully carried out. Since 1815 population had doubled, but the army had been left on the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so of the 150,000 youths who annually came of age for military service only 40,000 were drafted, while, in case of war, older and married men of the reserve had to take the field.

King William's first efforts were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits each year instead of only 40,000. This change called for an additional outlay of eight million dollars annually. The Prussian parliament, anxious to use the power but lately acquired, at first granted the money only under certain conditions, and, later, refused it altogether. William was determined not to give in; he would rather abdicate. But his advisers coun-

seled him to try a new minister. He finally yielded to their advice, and, in October, 1862, he summoned the man ready to carry out the royal will, parliament or no.

703. This man was Otto von Bismarck. — With him a minister stepped into office who was destined not only to uphold the army bill, but *to unify Germany* and to carry his country to the front rank of European states. Hitherto he had not figured very prominently in public life. He was known to be a country nobleman, a "Junker," of very conservative views. In the revolution of 1848 he had stanchly defended the royal prerogatives, to the delight of Frederick William, who sent him as Prussian delegate to the Frankfort Diet. There he realized the whole ridiculous imbecility of the Germanic Confederation, but also the unbending attitude of Austria in the question of German unity. He became convinced that the only state strong enough to bring about the creation of a German empire was his own Prussia. Needless to say, he was now heart and soul in favor of the new army bill which would strengthen Prussia for the coming struggle. The parliament still refused the money for the enlarged army, and so he ruled without parliament and for four years he collected taxes unconstitutionally.

BISMARCK.

Again and again the parliament demanded Bismarck's dis-

missal, and many violent scenes took place. The Liberals threatened to hang him, — as very probably they would have done if power had fallen to them by another revolution. Bismarck in turn railed at the Liberals contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood and iron"; he grimly went on bullying or dissolving parliament, and the king steadfastly stood by him.

Meantime the army was greatly augmented. First of any large army, too, it was supplied with the new invention of breech-loading, repeating rifles, instead of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders; and *Von Moltke*, the Prussian "chief of staff," made it the most perfectly organized military body in Europe.

Bismarck was now ready to carry out his selfish schemes. He needed only an opportunity. And it soon came. By a series of masterstrokes of daring and unscrupulous diplomacy he involved Prussia in three wars in the next seven years, the *Danish War* (1864), the *Six Weeks' War with Austria* (1866), and the *Franco-Prussian War* (1870–1871).

704. The Danish War. — The Danish king was also Duke of *Schleswig-Holstein*, two provinces at the base of the Danish peninsula. Their population, with the exception of the northern half of Schleswig, was entirely German. Holstein was, besides, a member of the Germanic Confederation. In 1847 the two provinces revolted against their Danish sovereign and expected help from Germany. Public opinion demanded energetic action, but the Frankfort Diet was too weak and vacillating to do anything. In 1863 a new Danish king adopted a constitution for his territories which made no distinction between Denmark proper and Schleswig, but simply treated it as Danish territory. This was a violation of a promise previously given, and gave Bismarck a chance to interfere. He persuaded his sovereign to conclude an alliance with Austria against Den-

mark. The two demanded the repeal of the new Danish constitution. Denmark refused and war followed. The little state was, of course, easily defeated and had to renounce all claims to Schleswig-Holstein *in favor of Austria and Prussia jointly.*

705. The Six Weeks' War with Austria. — Bismarck now had little trouble in finding a pretext for war with Austria. Quarrels arose at once over the administration of the ceded provinces. Austria wished to hand them over to a German prince and make them full-fledged members of the Confederation, while Bismarck's demands practically amounted to an annexation of both to Prussia. A treaty concluded at Gastein, which vested the administration of Holstein in Austria and that of Schleswig in Prussia, did not mend matters. When Austria encouraged Holstein to elect a native prince, Bismarck objected vigorously. To increase the chances for war, he now came forward with a proposal to reorganize the Confederation in such a way as to destroy the preponderance of Austria. The latter would not listen to the plan, and both prepared for war.

Bismarck with consummate skill had secured the *neutrality of Napoleon III.* Then he negotiated a secret *treaty with Italy.* That country longed for the acquisition of *Venetia,* which it failed to get in 1859 (§ 697). Bismarck now promised to the Italians that Austrian province if they would declare war as soon as Prussia had taken the initiative.

706. Meantime the excitement over the Schleswig-Holstein question became daily more intense. Austria convoked the Diet at Frankfort to settle the matter. Prussia declared this a breach of the treaty of Gastein and sent her troops into Holstein. Thereupon the Diet mobilized the armies of the Confederation. Prussia seceded, and the war began. All of the southern states ranged themselves on the side of Austria, as did also three of the northern states, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse.

GROWTH OF
PRUSSIA
1815-1867
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Friedericia
BORNHOLM (Den.)
HELGOLAND
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Flensburg
Kiel
Rendsburg
Lübeck
Wismar
RÜGEN
POMERANIA
Kolberg
Kamnin
Swinemünde
Danzig
Elbing
Königsberg
Tilsit
Tauroggen
Eylau
Friedland
PROVINCE OF EAST PRUSSIA
PROVINCE OF WEST PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF MECKLENBURG
SCHWERIN
STRELITZ
Stettin
Thorn
Gnesen
Posen
Warsaw
POLAND
Vistula R.
Hanover
Hamburg
Altona
Wilhelmshaven
Emden
Bremen
Verden
Celle
Amsterdam
Zuyder Zee
NETHERLANDS
Osnabrück
Minden
Brunswick
Magdeburg
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Stendal
Münster
Hamm
Lippe
Wesel
Arnsberg
Halberstadt
Halle
Leipzig
Dresden
Meissen
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Glogau
Kalisch
Nimwegen
Gelderland
WESTPHALIA
Dortmund
Düsseldorf
Cologne
Bonn
Coblenz
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cassel
Göttingen
Eisenach
Gotha
Jena
Weimar
Erfurt
Hohenzollern
Sigmaringen
Hof
Kulmbach
Bayreuth
Bamberg
Würzburg
Nürnberg
Frankfort
Mainz
Worms
Treves
Metz
Saarbrücken
Hombach
PALATINATE
Karlsbad
Prague
Sadowa
Königgrätz
Reichenbach
Neisse
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Jägerndorf
Troppau
Brünn
Krakow
GALICIA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
SILESIA
SAXONY
LOWER LUSATIA
UPPER LUSATIA
THURINGIAN STATES
ELECTORATE OF HESSE
GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN
DUCHY OF NASSAU
BAVARIA
FRANCE
BELGIUM
RHENISH PROVINCES
1815
1866
1803
1807
1813
1814
1815
1816
Prussia 1807-1813
Territory recovered in 1815
New Acquisitions 1815
Acquisitions of William I

But Bismarck and Moltke were certain of success. Superior equipment and leadership justified their hopes. In three days the Prussian armies overran the three northern allies of Austria. From Saxony they marched into Bohemia, where, on July 3, 1866, they met the main army of Austria at *Sadowa*. The contest was one of the bloodiest of the century; the Austrians suffered a terrible defeat, and the way to Vienna was open to the enemy.

Meantime the Italians had kept their part of the engagement and opened hostilities, but only to meet defeat on the old battlefield of *Custozza*. The Italian fleet, too, though superbly equipped, was badly crippled by the wooden ships of the Austrians off the coast of Dalmatia.

707. The Peace, nevertheless, gave *Venetia to Italy*. The other, more important, provisions come under two heads.

a. Prussia annexed *Hesse-Cassel*, *Nassau*, *Hanover*, and the city of *Frankfort*, the seat of the former Diet. These acquisitions consolidated her formerly scattered lands, since they filled the gap between her old territory and her possessions on the Rhine. She also kept *Schleswig-Holstein* with the magnificent harbor of Kiel. Her territory was enlarged by half, and her population rose from twenty to nearly thirty millions. No other German state approached this — now that Austria was no longer to be a German state.[1]

b. Austria did not lose any territory (except Venetia), but she definitely *withdrew from German affairs:* and the Confederation of 1815 was replaced by the *North German Federation*. This union was placed under Prussian presidency and

[1] Frederick the Great at his accession ruled over two and a half million subjects. This number was doubled during his reign, with some new territory. By 1815 it had doubled again, to ten millions. In the next half century (1815–1866) the population nearly doubled, without addition of territory. The Six Weeks' War had raised it to thirty millions. Trace the growth of Prussia on the (accompanying) map.

comprised all states north of the Main river. It was not a loose league like the old Confederation, but a true federal state, with essentially the same constitution as the later German Empire. Bismarck would have liked to add the southern states, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, to the North German Federation, but Napoleon III, jealous of Prussia's growing power, objected, and Bismarck dropped the scheme, though only for the time. He feared an alliance between France and the humiliated Austria.

B. The Founding of the German Empire

708. After Sadowa, Bismarck was the idol of the Prussian parliament. As soon as his purpose to expel Austria from Germany became known opposition against him practically ceased. The parliament passed enthusiastically the act of indemnity he requested for his previous unconstitutional actions, and gave him a hearty support that made it easier for him to complete his task.

709. Bismarck and Napoleon III. — After the Danish War, Napoleon had expected to get at least Luxemburg, with Prussia's consent, in return for giving her a free hand. And when the Six Weeks' War began he thought that his chance had surely come. Bismarck, in a personal interview with Napoleon, made sure of the latter's neutrality and "permitted" the French emperor to deceive himself as to a future reward. Napoleon's real plan, however, was to remain neutral at first, and to step in at the critical moment to save the vanquished. The vanquished, he felt sure, would be Prussia. In gratitude for his protection, Prussia would sanction his annexing German territory on the Rhine.

But the war was over, and over in a way contrary to his hopes, before Napoleon's armies were ready. The chance was passed; but Napoleon weakly tried negotiations. For he felt that popular clamor demanded some great achievement to

satisfy French ambition and to maintain himself on the throne. The emperor's popularity had been on the wane ever since his mad Mexican expedition had failed (§ 680). After the battle of Sadowa a strong Republican party declared it a French as well as an Austrian defeat, inasmuch as it was a step toward German unity, which would diminish French prestige and put an end to the time-honored interference of France in German affairs. Upon Napoleon fell the blame for having allowed matters to come to such a pass.

Neither were internal troubles wanting. The revolutionary and socialistic spirit of 1848 was still fermenting in the masses. A concession of Napoleon in the shape of a liberal constitution earned him little gratitude. Even in the army 50,000 votes were cast against it. No wonder, then, that Napoleon looked for extension of the frontiers to divert attention from domestic affairs.

Hence his negotiations with Bismarck. He suggested to him that France be permitted to annex parts of Bavaria (one of Prussia's antagonists in the Six Weeks' War), to offset Prussian annexations; in return France would give Prussia a free hand in reorganizing Germany. Bismarck was already planning a war with France, the only means, in his eyes, to bring the South German states into the North German Federation. This proposal of annexations of Bavarian territory delivered Napoleon into Bismarck's hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states. This terrified them into a secret alliance with Prussia. Now a war with France would fuse North and South Germany into one state.

710. The Ems Dispatch. — Bismarck, therefore, wanted war and used every means at his disposal to hasten it. But his success was made possible only by the folly and envy of the French statesmen. The immediate occasion for war grew out of a proposal of the *Spaniards* to place upon their throne a German prince, a distant relative of King William of Prussia.

Napoleon called upon William to prevent this, urging that it would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. The French press, in fact, loudly protested against having a German prince to the south as well as to the east of the French frontier. The prince then declined the proffered crown, and everything seemed peacefully settled. But Napoleon's advisers were bent upon humiliating Prussia. So the French ambassador was instructed to see King William at the little watering-place of Ems and to insist that the king should give a definite pledge that the Spanish offer, if renewed at any time in the future, would not be accepted. William very properly declined to do this. But his refusal, though firm, was so courteous that there was no cause for offense. An account of the interview was telegraphed to Bismarck, who skilfully condensed it in such a way as to make it appear that king and ambassador had insulted each other.[1] This "edited" account he sent to the press. As Bismarck hoped, France took fire and declared war (July 19, 1870). Never did a state rush more blindly to its fate.

711. The War (1870–1871). — To Thiers and others who opposed the war on the ground that France was not sufficiently prepared, the French minister of war gave the assurance, "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's gaiter button," and the people in the streets of Paris shouted light-heartedly, "On to Berlin." But the first attempts to move troops showed that the government was honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency. Regiments lacked men. Arsenals were empty. Transportation was not ready where it was needed, and supplies of all kinds were of the poorest quality. The French soldiers fought with their accustomed bravery, but they were outnumbered and outgeneraled at every point. On the other

[1] See the original dispatch and Bismarck's version of it in Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents*.

hand, the Prussian army showed the same thorough preparation and energy which had brought so swift a victory in 1866. In twelve days after the declaration of war the Germans had put one and a quarter million of troops into the field and had massed most of them on the Rhine. Napoleon planned to *drive a wedge between the German North and South.* After the first victory, he calculated, the South would break away from the alliance with Prussia.

But that first victory never came. Instead, the French were defeated at *Wörth* and forced to fall back to the frontier. After a series of battles ending in the desperate struggle of *Gravelotte* one French army, numbering 170,000 men, took refuge in the strong fortress of *Metz.* Leaving a force to invest Metz, the main German army turned westward after the other half of the French forces under General MacMahon, and surrounded them at *Sedan* near the Belgian boundary. There the decisive battle was fought, September 1, that resulted in the surrender of the whole French army with Napoleon in person.

712. The Proclamation of the German Empire. — When the news of the disaster of Sedan reached Paris, the Chambers declared *Napoleon deposed* and set up a provisional government, the leading spirit of which was the Republican *Gambetta.* It decided to continue the war. Meantime the Germans pressed on to the siege of Paris, and soon completely cut off the capital from the provinces. Paris offered the most heroic resistance, and the exhausted provinces raised army after army to rescue the capital from the iron grasp of the Germans. For a time success seemed possible, but in the end it became apparent that the German ring could not be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; and on January 28, 1871, the city surrendered.

During the siege Bismarck completed the work of the unification of Germany. The South German people were wild with enthusiasm over the victories over the French, and Bismarck,

while this feeling was at its height, brought them all into the North German Federation. Then he arranged that the King of Bavaria in the name of other leading German rulers should ask the King of Prussia to take the title of *German Emperor*. And *on January 18*, while the siege of Paris was still going on,

Proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles, January 18, 1871. In the same palace the peace treaty between Germany and the Allies was signed June 28, 1919.

in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles, *William of Prussia solemnly assumed that title*. The act was soon ratified by a parliament representing all Germany.

713. Peace. — The provisional government set up after Sedan represented only Paris and had, therefore, no authority to make peace. After the fall of the capital an armistice was arranged, to permit the election of a National Assembly. It met towards the close of February and elected Thiers "head of the Executive Power." The first task of the new head was to make peace with Bismarck. The terms were hard. A war indemnity of one billion dollars was exacted by the Germans. The province of Alsace and part of Lorraine, including the

strong fortresses of Strassburg and Metz, were annexed to the new German Empire, although the vast majority of the population of these provinces was passionately attached to France. In fact, hundreds of thousands preferred to leave their homes rather than to submit to German rule. Bismarck himself, it is said, had misgivings, but the military leaders insisted that their annexation was necessary in order to give the empire a strong western boundary.

714. Thus Germany was made, not by the people's representatives assembled in the Frankfort Parliament, nor by the agitation of later revolutionary enthusiasts, but by the daring and unscrupulous diplomacy of Bismarck, details of which, later on, he himself shamelessly revealed. Such methods can recommend themselves to those only who, like Bismarck, believe that statesmen in their political acts need not be restrained by the moral law. Their dazzling success, moreover, presented a strong temptation to his successors to follow similar methods and thus to sow the seeds of distrust and future wars. Such methods, sooner or later, are bound to bring disaster upon their authors.

On the other hand, we must not underestimate the value of earlier efforts. The Frankfort Parliament and the flood of literature it produced awakened in all minds a strong desire for union to put an end to the disgraceful centuries of discord and foreign interference. Hence, when the new empire was proclaimed most of the best men of the nation gave their hearty approval to the accomplished fact.

The subsequent story of France and Germany will be told in another chapter.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, §§ 478–486 and 496–514. For a clear and fair account read Holt and Chilton, *European History 1862–1914*, Chap. IV–VII. The general histories of Hazen, Hayes, Seignobos devote much space to this period.

PART VIII. GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1815

CHAPTER LII

POLITICAL REFORM IN ENGLAND

A. The First Reform Bill

715. Political Conditions in 1815. — In the eighteenth century, through her participation in the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 482), in the Seven Years' War (§ 498), and the Napoleonic wars, England acquired a world-empire. During the same century she inaugurated that silent yet mighty change in human life, the *Industrial Revolution*. But in one respect, in *political progress*, that period is singularly uninteresting; except for the accidental progress in the matter of ministerial government (§ 464), England actually went backward in freedom.

Parliament had never been a very democratic body, and, after 1688, it shriveled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords. This came about largely by accident.

The old English kings had summoned representatives from whatever borough they pleased, though custom gave a borough, once represented, a right to send a member ever afterward. At first this power to "summon" boroughs was used wisely to recognize towns as they grew up. But the Tudors, in order better to manage parliaments, called representatives from insignificant hamlets. These were "*pocket boroughs*," — owned or controlled by some lord of the court party.

This bad condition was made worse by natural causes. When in the eighteenth century manufactures developed in the north and west the population shifted to these parts; large cities grew up where formerly pastures and heath covered the land.

But these new towns could not get their representatives into parliament; for after the "Restoration" of 1660 the king no longer enjoyed the right to create boroughs, just when that power might have been used to public advantage. On the other hand, in the south and east, old parliamentary boroughs had dwindled down to fifty or fewer inhabitants, but still continued to be represented in London. In a few cases the borough had actually disappeared or had been submerged by the encroachments of the sea. Still a descendant of the ancient owner had the right to elect himself to parliament. Thus the elder Pitt, who guided England's policy during the Seven Years' War, entered the Commons as a member from Old Sarum, when not a vestige of the old town remained, simply because his grandfather had bought the soil where the town once stood. In many small places with only a few voters there was no real election. A neighboring landlord on whom the people depended as tenants would propose the candidate and force his election.

Others were known as "*rotten boroughs.*" That is, the few voters sold the seat in parliament as a regular part of their private revenue. Thus, in 1776, the little town of Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bidder. Moreover, as all voting was viva-voce, and as the polls were held open for two weeks, there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

716. Attempts at Reform, 1815–1832. — Progressive individuals had long seen that parliament did not represent the nation, and urged reform. But after 1688 the energies of the English went to the long French wars and left little interest for domestic affairs. Moreover, during the long period from 1760 to 1820 the king was determined to prevent reform. *George III* felt that his indolent predecessors had allowed the kingly power to slip from their hands, and he resolved to get it back once more. This, of course, was much easier with a parliament made up largely of members from pocket boroughs

that could be controlled than with a parliament that really represented the nation. Besides, when the Americans raised the cry "No taxation without representation," it would have been rather inconsistent to grant representation at home while refusing it to the colonies. The French Revolution threw England into the opposing camp, and, for a while, democratic ideas became very unpopular. During nearly all this time the Tories were in power, who, by tradition, opposed all movements in favor of popular government. When in 1820 George IV followed his father on the throne he assumed the same attitude towards political reform.

717. Some small gains, however, were made before 1830. — In 1825 the parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in *labor unions*, — which had always before been treated as conspiracies. In 1828 the *Dissenters*, and the next year the *Catholics*, secured greater political rights (§ 742). A beginning was made, too, in the reform of the atrocious laws regarding *capital punishment*.

The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some parliament had fixed the death penalty for it, and no later parliament ever revised the code, so that, by 1800, the number of "capital crimes" had risen to over two hundred, ranging all the way from stealing a woman's handkerchief to arson, or murder. In 1823, at last, after long agitation by the reformer Romilly, parliament struck the death penalty from one hundred offenses.

718. The Reform Bill of 1832. — In 1830 George IV was succeeded by his brother *William IV*. He had the reputation of being more favorably disposed toward reform than his predecessor. At the same time, too, the French "July Revolution" (§ 640), with its far-reaching effects on the continent, added strength to the reform party in England.

At that time the accession of a new sovereign involved a general election for parliament. The *Whigs* returned stronger

than they had been in the preceding parliament, and they promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation. The *Duke of Wellington*, the hero of Waterloo, was then prime minister and a Tory. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he was fully convinced that the country possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes of legislation, and "that to a greater degree than any legislature ever had answered in any country whatsoever." This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of parliament. He had to resign, and the Whigs came into power with *Earl Grey* as prime minister. In the House of Commons Lord *John Russell* was the chief representative of the ministry. He drew up the bill of reform. It aimed (1) to distribute the representation somewhat more fairly, (2) to extend the franchise to a somewhat larger class of voters. The manner of voting was not to be changed, as Earl Grey objected to the secret ballot.

Representation was to be taken away from fifty-six "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs, and thirty more places, each of them of less than 4000 inhabitants, were to give up one seat. The eighty-six seats gained in this way were to be given to new boroughs hitherto not represented. The right of voting was extended to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth $50 a year, and to the whole "farmer" class in the country (§ 659). Farm laborers and the artisan class in towns (who lived in tenements or as lodgers) were still left out.

719. The Struggle. — To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the very foundations of society. Fierce debates took up month after month. In March, 1831, the "second reading" of the bill was carried by a majority of one vote. It was plain that the Whigs were not strong enough to save the bill from undesirable amendments. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve parliament and to "appeal to the country" for better support.

The dissolution proved that the ministry meant to stand or fall on the bill. People everywhere showed their joy over the attitude of the ministers, and the general elections returned a large majority in favor of the bill. Russell introduced it again, and this time it passed the Commons by a majority of 109. Then it was sent up to the Lords, who calmly voted it down (September, 1831).

Thus one session of the new parliament was wasted. The excitement and indignation at the Lords rose to such a pitch that England seemed on the verge of revolution. In December the Commons took up the bill again and gave it a still greater majority. The Lords did not venture to reject it altogether, but they tacked on so many amendments that it fell far short of its original purpose.

The king has always the power to make new peers at will. Earl Grey now demanded from the king to create enough new peers to save the bill. William IV refused, and Earl Grey resigned. For eleven days England had no government. The Tories were unable to get a majority, so the king had to recall the Whigs. Earl Grey again insisted that the king compel the Lords to give in. Finally William reluctantly signed a note on which Grey had written "The king grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill." This ended the struggle. It was not necessary actually to create new peers. The Tory Lords withdrew from the session, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

720. Incidentally the long contest had settled two important points: (1) It showed how the *Commons could control the Lords*, and (2) it proved that the ministers are *not the king's ministers*, except in name, but that they are really the *organ of the House of Commons*. The royal power has thereby been greatly reduced; since the king can act only through his ministers and since they are able to impose their will upon him, they,

and not the king, really rule Great Britain. But this will be better understood when we study the British Constitution (§ 728).

B. Reforms in the Victorian Age

721. Queen Victoria. — The first Reform Bill introduced a new era which we call the *Victorian age*. In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece *Victoria*, then a girl of eighteen, whose reign filled the next sixty-four years. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl. She was not brilliant; but she grew into a worthy, sensible, good woman, deeply loved by her people and admired by all the world. In 1840 she married Albert, the ruler of a small German principality, and their happy and pure family life (blessed with nine children) was an example rather new to European courts for generations.[1]

Queen Victoria at the Time of Her Coronation.

There was still much in the British Constitution that was undeveloped, and

[1] The crown of Hanover since George I (1714) had been joined in personal union to that of Great Britain. But since the Hanoverian law excluded women from the throne, Hanover passed to Victoria's uncle, the duke of Cumberland, her nearest heir. The separation was peaceful and satisfactory to both parties.

the difficult problems arising out of the change in parliament and cabinet might have led to dangerous complications. But the queen never lost sight of the principles of liberty on which her sovereignty rested, and exerted her influence on the side of moderation and prudent concession.

The Victorian age was a period of *brilliant literary achievement.* True, Burns and Scott, Wordsworth and Macaulay, had initiated this golden age before her reign. But Browning, Tennyson, Dickens and Thackeray, Carlyle and Ruskin, are great names chiefly associated with the Victorian age.

722. New Leaders. — The first Reform Bill gave the vote to 650,000 people, or to one out of six grown men. It marked the end of the Old Régime in England. Political power passed from the narrow landlord class to a more broad-minded middle-class aristocracy. For more than forty years (1790–1830) parliament had openly been contemptuous of public opinion. Thenceforth it has been nearly always promptly responsive to that force, and reform crowded upon reform.

Disraeli.

During the next forty-two years (1832–1874) the Tories (Conservatives [1]) were in power less than one sixth of the time. After that they, too, adopted a more liberal policy toward the lower classes and secured longer leases of power. The man who did much to bring about that change was Disraeli, the real leader of the party through the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

[1] Soon after the great Reform Bill the name *Conservative* began to replace Tory, and *Liberal* replaced Whig.

Disraeli (later *Lord Beaconsfield*) was by race a Jew, though he later outwardly attached himself to the Anglican Church. He was an author and a brilliant orator. As a politician he had no very fixed principles, but his shrewd mind told him that the influence and power of the Conservatives depended upon the concession of reforms.

An even more important figure was Disraeli's great adversary, *William Ewart Gladstone*. Gladstone entered parliament in 1833, and soon proved himself a powerful orator and master of debate. Besides, he was an authority on financial questions. He began his career as an extreme Tory, but by degrees he grew more Liberal, and thirty years later he succeeded Lord Russell as the acknowledged leader of that party. For thirty years more he held that place, — four times as prime minister,[1] — and at the close of his career many considered him an extreme Radical. Some of his early friends accused him of being inconsistent, but the world at large accepted his simple explanation, "I was brought up to distrust and dislike liberty. I have learned to believe in it. That is the key to all my changes." For the last twenty years of his life he was widely revered as England's "Grand Old Man."

[1] Reference Table of Administrations:

	Liberals	*Conservatives*
1830–34	Grey	
1834–35		Peel
1835–41	Melbourne	
1841–46		Peel
1846–52	Russell	
1852		Derby
1852–58	(1) Aberdeen (2) Palmerston	
1858–59		Derby
1859–66	(1) Palmerston (2) Russell	
1866–68		Derby
1868–74	Gladstone	
1874–80		Disraeli (Beaconsfield)
1880–85	Gladstone	
1885–86		Salisbury
1886	Gladstone	
1866–92		Salisbury
1982–95	(1) Gladstone (2) Rosebery	
1895–1906	(1) Salisbury (2) Balfour	
1906–16	Campbell-Bannerman Asquith	
1916–	Lloyd George	

After this general survey we will turn to some details of England's progress in the Victorian age.

723. The Conservatives at once accepted the result of 1832, as that party in England always does when a new reform has been forced upon them. But they emphatically declared against further concessions to the poorer classes, and in this they were supported by many Liberals, and by none more heartily than by Lord John Russell. The middle class now shared political power with the aristocracy, and they had no mind to extend it to others. But outside of parliament and outside of the ruling middle class there was the large mass of workingmen who knew that the victory of 1832 had been won largely by their sympathy and their public demonstration, and who felt that they had been cheated out of the fruits of the victory. This class continued restless, but they lacked leadership, and, in ordinary times, their claims secured little attention. There were, however, two marked periods of agitation, — one just before 1848, and another before 1867. The first was futile, the second led to a new Reform Bill.

724. The earlier of the two agitations was the famous Chartist Movement. — Even before 1832 there had been an extensive agitation for a more radical change than that proposed in Russell's Reform Bill, and the extremists had fixed upon six points to struggle for: (1) universal manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualifications for membership in parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the secret ballot, and (6) annual elections. In 1837 the Radicals renewed their agitation, and the "*Six Points*" were embodied in a *Charter*. Excitement grew from year to year, and in the forties many Chartists looked forward to rebellion. Men armed and drilled, and the alarmed government took precautions. In 1848, upon the news of the continental revolutions, the Chartists adopted the resolution: "All labor shall cease till the people's Charter becomes the law of the

land." This was the first attempt at a national strike for political purposes. But the movement was poorly organized. After some riots and some bloodshed it subsided, overawed by the military display of the middle-class government.

725. The next agitation had its origin in the sufferings of the unemployed while the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for the English factories. This time no one thought of force; the agitators could safely count on winning, through the rivalry of the two political parties. The Conservatives were then in power, and fear of the Liberals induced them to pass the *second Reform Bill* in 1867. It gave the franchise to all householders (owners or renters) and to all lodgers who paid at least $50 a year for their rooms. This bill benefited the artisan class, and raised the number of voters to over three millions. But, owing to the low rents in England, many unmarried men were still excluded from the suffrage.

726. The Third Reform Bill, 1884. — The seven years after 1867 were filled mainly with legislation for social reform (§ 737) for which most of the credit belongs to Gladstone's ministry. Then, after a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and concerned chiefly with foreign matters, Gladstone took office again, and the *third Reform Bill* enfranchised the unskilled laborer and the servant class. Shortly afterward the whole of England was divided into parliamentary districts more resembling our own congressional districts. This raised the electorate to over six million voters. . . . But manhood suffrage remained limited by property qualifications until 1918. In that year parliament by a new electoral act abolished practically all restrictions and, at the same time, extended the franchise to women. This act more than doubled the English electorate.

727. Reforms in Local Government. — The extension of the franchise by the three Reform Bills applied only to parliamentary elections. Local government remained aristocratic. In the country, practically all affairs of the parish and the

county were managed by a Board of Justices of the Peace, taken from the local gentry and appointed for life by the crown. *In the towns* the government was usually vested in a mayor and a council who were virtually self-elected for life. Needless to say, this system permitted gross abuses. In 1835 a *Municipal Reform Bill* proposed that in certain specified towns the municipal council should be elected by all those who pay local taxes. After long and stubborn resistance by the Lords it finally became law. From time to time new towns were added to the list until, in 1882, it was provided that any town might adopt this form of government.

In the country the change came later, chiefly because the rule of the gentry was honest. But between 1888 and 1894 election of officers by the taxpayers was introduced. This infused new life and a spirit of enterprise into the rather obsolete and inefficient administration of the counties and parishes.

These reforms made English local government a model for all other democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils; party politics have little or no influence on local administration. Efficient men of high professional standing provide English cities with a government which costs less and gives more than in American cities. And the scandals which sometimes disgrace our city governments are unknown.

C. The British Constitution

728. Its Character. — We have just seen how the three reform bills gave the people a much greater share in political power than they had possessed before the nineteenth century. The form and appearance of the monarchy have remained unchanged. *In theory the king* still makes laws, declares war, makes peace, and carries on the government. *In practice*, however, all legislative power is exercised by *parliament*, and all executive power rests in the hands of *Cabinet* ministers who act in the king's name. To us practical Americans it seems

odd that England should retain so much of the pomp and splendor of royalty after its power has nearly vanished. But Englishmen cling with reverence and affection to their king, and never dream of doing away with forms under which the nation has grown so mighty and prosperous. There are some, too, who think that the nation has gone a little too far in curtailing the power of the monarch. Should this view one day prevail it would be easy to give more practical significance to the form already existing.

Another feature that seems strange to an American is that the Constitution of Great Britain is *not embodied in a written document*, like the Constitution of the United States or the constitutions of most continental states. It rests solely on respect for tradition and custom, which is a very prominent quality of the British character. It has grown up in the slow growth of centuries, and it can be amended at any time by an ordinary act of parliament. And since it is legally not superior to parliament *no act of parliament can be declared unconstitutional.*

729. The Cabinet. — The center of the whole machinery of the government is the Cabinet. In reality it is a committee selected from the two Houses of Parliament, counting usually from sixteen to twenty members. The king chooses the prime minister or head of the Cabinet, and the latter then selects his colleagues. But the king's choice is greatly limited by the requirements (1) that the members of the Cabinet shall be taken from the party that has the majority in the House of Commons, and (2) that its head and members shall be those whom that majority recognizes as its leaders. If there were any doubt as to which one of several men is the leader, the matter would be settled by a conference. In 1902 Balfour was chosen by the Conservatives in such a conference.

Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department of government, — Treasury (Exchequer), Foreign Affairs, War, and so on. Their leading assistants in all these depart-

ments — some twenty men — together with the heads of the departments form the *ministry*. The chiefs themselves constitute the inner circle, the *Cabinet*.

The Cabinet is really "the Government," and is often referred to by that title. It is the real executive as well as the guiding force in the legislature. In their secret meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policies. In parliament they introduce bills and defend them. In the executive departments over which they severally preside they carry out these policies. In this way a unity and consistency of action is given to the government which is wanting in most other states. Indeed, the union of executive and legislative powers is the principal characteristic of the British government. In the United States neither the President nor the members of his cabinet are allowed to have seats in Congress or to take part in debates. They are forced, therefore, to use roundabout means to secure the passage of laws which they consider necessary. In England the prime minister and his colleagues must be members of parliament, and they are naturally its leaders. The ministers take the chief part in transacting business. For example, no vote of money can be proposed except in the House of Commons and by one of the ministers. In fact, the ministers are practically responsible for every bill that is passed. Either the ministry introduces the bill, to begin with, or at least permits and adopts it. If it is not willing to do that, it either defeats the bill or is itself defeated. But it cannot escape responsibility to the nation.

730. "Appeal to the Country." — Another vital difference between the American and British system of government lies in the fact that when the British ministry loses the support of the majority in the House of Commons it must either resign or "*appeal to the country.*" If it chooses the latter, the king (nominally, of course) dissolves parliament and orders a general election. If the ministers are sustained by the voters they

remain in office and have thereafter a majority favorable to their policy. If the opposition party secures a majority at the polls the ministers must resign, and the leader of the victorious party is called by the king to form a Cabinet; the former ministers then become leaders of the opposition. Usually not more than three weeks intervene between the dissolution of one parliament and the coming into office of a new House. Moreover, members of the House of Commons *do not have to be residents of the districts which they represent.* If, therefore, a prominent member of either party is defeated in his district it is easy to find a seat for him from some other constituency. Thus great statesmen, like Gladstone, can spend the greater part of their lives in continuous service in the House of Commons, either as members of the Cabinet or as leaders of the opposition.

731. From this account it will be clear why the British government is sometimes called the most democratic form of government of any great modern state. As the parliament may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of ascertaining the popular will on any important question, that body will be more responsive to public opinion than (for instance) the Congress of the United States. No deadlock between the executive and legislature is possible. True, bills have to get the consent of the Lords before they become law. The House of Lords consists of about six hundred members, all appointed for life, and therefore independent of the popular will. But continued resistance on the part of that body is little to be feared ever since, in 1832, the king threatened to "swamp" the Lords, that is, to appoint as many new members as are needed to form a majority in favor of a Cabinet measure. In 1914 the House of Lords was rendered still more "harmless" (§ 748) so that now practically all power is vested in the Commons, thus rendering the parliament more truly representative of the British people.

For Further Reading. — For English history of this period consult Lingard-Birt, pp. 586–619. A more connected narrative is to be found in Hazen, Chaps. XVIII–XXII. See also Hayes and Seignobos. Justin M'Carthy's *Epoch of Reform* is a brilliant account of the period of 1830–1850. Robinson's *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. II, contains much source material. For a detailed description of the British Constitution read Macy and Cannaway, *Comparative Free Government*, Part II, or Woodrow Wilson, *The State*.

CHAPTER LIII

SOCIAL REFORM IN ENGLAND

732. Reform by the Grey Ministry, 1832–1834. — The thirties were a period of social as well as of political reform. In England *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present; Mrs. Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems. Public men, like *Wilberforce*, *Romilly*, and *Shaftesbury*, urged reform in parliament. And the study of the Industrial Revolution has taught us that there was, indeed, crying need for reform (§§ 657, 658).

After the Reform Bill of 1832 the new parliament, elected on the basis of the enlarged franchise, had a large Liberal majority, and, during the next three years, passed a number of important social measures. It freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, paying the colonists a hundred millions for their loss. It took away from the Irish peasants the burden for supporting the Anglican clergy (§ 743). It abolished some more excesses of the absurd and bloody criminal code (§ 717). And, finally, it commenced an era of factory legislation to free the downtrodden working classes of the English industrial centers. But this calls for a more extended notice.

733. Labor and Factory Legislation. — The heartlessness and greed of employers had so widely disregarded the welfare of body and soul of the employees that the state long before this period should have taken radical measures of relief. Something had, indeed, been done at an earlier date, but such relief

as was given did not proceed from an enlightened understanding of the real conditions. Thus, by the "*Workhouse Test*" the indigent received support only if they entered a workhouse, which was looked upon as a degradation by the poor. Later this test was abolished, to make room for a still more unsatisfactory law. The state gave additional wages to certain very poorly paid laborers. This only increased the number of idlers and humiliated the honest but poor people.

Saner views began to prevail after 1832. In the next year Lord Ashley secured the passage of a "factory act," limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week. Some provision was made, too, for the education of children and for a few holidays; and the employment of children under nine (!) was strictly forbidden. About half of all the children employed (some 30,000) were freed by this law.

Most of the manufacturers fought the bill bitterly, but public opinion was so aroused by the revelation of the appalling conditions in the factories that the bill became law. Subsequent acts still further limited the labor of women and children.

But this legislation applied only to factories. In 1840 a parliamentary commission made public the horrible conditions of women and children in the coal mines, — stunted, crippled, misshapen wretches, living in brutal slavery. Children began to work underground at five or six years of age, and rarely saw daylight. The working hours were from twelve to fourteen a day. In the wet underground passages, two to three feet high, women were compelled to crawl back and forth on hands and knees, hauling great carts of coal by chains fastened to their waists. A law forbade underground labor by women and children. Later acts added still more to the protection of the working classes against their exploitation by the capitalists. It must be said, however, that England, in comparison

with some continental states, has been rather slow to remedy the evils of the Industrial Revolution.

734. The "Oxford Movement." — About the same time when England awoke to the need of social reform, a remarkable movement began within the Anglican church which later led to quite unexpected results. With the advent of the Hanoverian kings there came over The Established Church a wave of indifferentism which killed all spirituality. The Anglican bishoprics furnished the party in power with valuable means of rewarding political support. The bishops appointed by the government usually had little care for the spiritual welfare of the flock committed to their charge, while the lower clergy consisted largely of men who had chosen the clerical state on account of its social and financial attractions.

Cardinal Newman.

To remedy this state of things, a number of Anglican clergymen, mostly professors and scholars of the famous university of *Oxford*, banded together, to work for a *spiritual revival of the Established Church*. Their leader was *John Henry Newman*, a man equally distinguished for his literary and scholarly attainments and for his high moral and religious aims. The adherents of this "*Oxford Movement*," as it was called, held that the Anglican Church had become infected with Protestant doctrines and practices and should, therefore, be freed from

them, so as to be more like the early Christian Church. The modern Roman Catholic Church, too, in their opinion, had gone astray and introduced teachings which were not the teachings of Christ. Hence the only safe course for reformers, like themselves, was to choose a " middle way " between Catholicism and Protestantism. In 1833 they began to issue a series of pamphlets or " *tracts*," in which they set forth their views. These aroused widespread attention. Almost all England took sides either for or against the " Tractarians," as the authors of these pamphlets were called. But gradually Newman and many of his followers became convinced, especially through a more thorough study of the past, that the Catholic Church of former ages was the same as it is to-day. And they had the courage of their conviction. In 1845 Newman (later cardinal) and his friends made their *submission to the Catholic Church.* His reception proved the signal for large numbers to follow. Gradually nine hundred Tractarians were converted to the true faith, and the stream of individual conversions steadily increased.

In 1850 Pope Pius IX *reorganized the Catholic Church in England* by establishing bishops and dioceses as they exist in Catholic countries. For a time there was a great amount of protest and denunciation against this " papal aggression," but the storm was soon allayed, and the Catholic Church pursued its work peacefully and with increasing success. During this same period of religious revival the odious penal laws were repealed one by one. But of this we shall have to speak later (§§ 740–743).

735. Repeal of the " Corn Laws." — Meantime the reforms made necessary by the Industrial Revolution extended to other matters besides factory legislation. The Conservative ministry of Peel (1841–1846) was marked by the abolition of the " Corn Laws." These laws put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. The purpose was to encourage the raising of foodstuffs

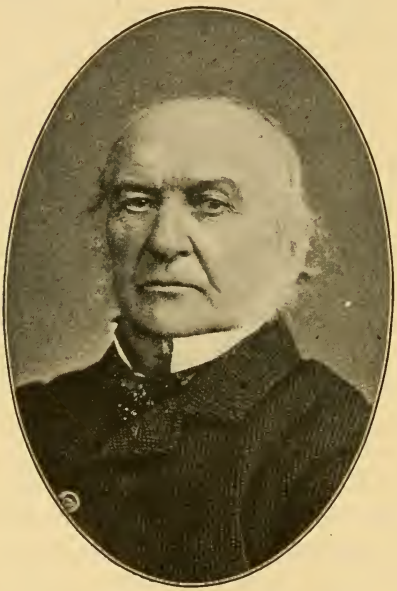
in England so as to make sure of a home supply. During the Napoleonic war this policy was, perhaps, justifiable. The profits, however, had gone mainly to the landlords, who exacted such high rents from their tenants as to annul the advantages which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. Besides, the increase in population made it impossible for England to produce enough foodstuffs anyway, and thus the landlords' monopoly of breadstuffs became an intolerable burden to the starving multitude.

In 1838 the *Anti-Corn-Law League* was organized by Richard Cobden and John Bright, and carried on a campaign through the press and by means of great public meetings. Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish leader (§ 742), joined the movement and became one of its principal orators. Gradually the big manufacturers came to see that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, since to enable the workingmen to live they had to pay higher wages, and thus their great influence was drawn to the side of reform.

Finally, in 1846, a huge calamity added its weight to the same side of the scales. This was the *Irish Famine*. The famine was caused by the sudden failure of the potato crop, then almost the only article of food for the poor Irish peasants. Despite generous alms from all parts of the world, two million people died of starvation, and about a million more emigrated to America. The English government had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this terrible calamity in Ireland forced it to act. Peel decided to do away with the tariff and to let food in free; in spite of some bitter opposition from his own party the reform was adopted.

736. "Free Trade." — Peel was at once overthrown by a party revolt, but the Liberals now took up the work and carried it further. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, by 1852, England had become a "free trade country." This policy was never seriously questioned until 1903. For

some years previous to that date, to be sure, some of the Conservative party talked of a policy of "*fair trade*," or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures; and finally, 1903, *Joseph Chamberlain*, a member of the Conservative Cabinet, declared that the time had come for England to adopt a policy of that kind and at the same time to secure closer trade relations with her colonies. In 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made their campaign on this issue. Although so far they have not carried their point, there is a growing conviction in England that "free trade" principles will be partly or entirely abandoned.



GLADSTONE.

737. Gladstone and Disraeli. — For some twenty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws England saw little legal reform, aside from the extension of free trade and of the factory legislation already mentioned.

Then, after the Reform Bill of 1867 (§ 725), came Gladstone's reform administration (1868–1874). In 1870 it established alongside of the old private and parochial schools, a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, Board Schools, almost non-sectarian in character. The private schools were subsidized by the state, though, at a later date, the burden was thrown upon the religious denomination to which they belonged.

At the universities, religious tests were abolished. After that the recipients of degrees (unless they are candidates for the Anglican ministry) do not have to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican creed. This opened Oxford and Cambridge to Catholic students. Gladstone's ministry, moreover, did away with the purchase of office in the army, introduced the ballot, gave legal rights to labor unions. It disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland (§ 745). But these numerous reforms aroused no small amount of hostility. When, therefore, in 1874, parliament was dissolved the Conservatives under their brilliant leader Disraeli won by a large majority.

Gladstone's administration had been chiefly engaged in domestic reform. In its foreign relations it was exceedingly peaceful. Disraeli characterized this as weakness which "compromised the honor of England." Consequently he threw himself into foreign affairs and tried to excite English national pride by aggressive utterances and conduct. Queen Victoria was declared "*Empress of India*"; the Boers of the Transvaal were forced into a war so that England might seize their lands; and, in 1878, when Russia defeated Turkey (§ 846), and seemed on the point of excluding the Turk from Europe, Disraeli interfered. In the Congress of Berlin (§ 848) he saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia from the Mediterranean.

Gladstone had carried on a strong campaign against the policy of supporting the Turks and of perpetuating their tyranny over Christian peoples. This appeal to the moral sense of the English people, together with setbacks of Disraeli's policy in India and South Africa, brought about the return of the Liberals to power (1880). Gladstone, again prime minister, passed the Third Reform Bill (§ 726) and other beneficial changes. But he soon found himself occupied with the Irish Question, the thorniest in English politics. The importance of the relations between England and Ireland deserves a special chapter.

CHAPTER LIV

ENGLAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

738. Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. — Conditions in Ireland after the passing of the *Penal Laws* (§ 467) were wretched beyond description. As a result of the plantations and the Penal Laws regarding property, six sevenths of the land belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their income there. Those who remained in Ireland made up the ruling class of the country. The vast majority of the people was Catholic. A few of these, especially in the West, were country gentlemen; some more were tenant farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for English landlords and living in mud hovels, — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

Farmers and laborers alike were "*tenants at will.*" That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was a sharp competition to get farms and cottages, so that the landlord could make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he commonly found out at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasant thriftless and hopeless, and the fact that the law of their masters was used only to oppress them aroused in their breasts hatred for all English law; hence we need not be surprised that at times the island became the scene of desparate insurrections.

Still more galling were the measures taken to *eradicate the Catholic faith* in Ireland. No nation in Christendom is more

devoutly attached to that faith. Though English tyranny could ruin the land and reduce its people to abject poverty, it never for a moment succeeded in shaking the foundations of Irish faith and Irish devotion to the Holy See. Irish priests, though harassed and hunted down by English agents and paid informers, never ceased to minister to their stricken people. Hence the traditional reverence and love of the Irish for their priesthood.

All hope of the Irish for the return of the Stuarts had vanished long ago, and they had accepted the House of Hanover, expecting relief from loyal submission to the existing sovereigns. Yet bigotry was so strong that under the first two Georges persecution, instead of abating, became rather more intense.

739. But during the second half of the eighteenth century a more generous sentiment towards the Irish gradually gained the upper hand.—Several causes contributed to this happy change. (1) After the last unsuccessful attempt of James II's grandson to regain the English crown, in 1745, the Irish ceased to build their hopes on the Stuarts, and the Stuart party in Ireland disappeared. Hence the charge of disloyalty could not well be maintained. (2) England, during the Seven Years' War and during the Napoleonic period, was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with France and her allies, and it was felt that a persecuted and enslaved Ireland might prove a real danger to England. If, for instance, a French force should land there, Irish Catholics might join it and set up an independent Irish government under French protection. Irish volunteers in French service had proved on many a continental battlefield (§ 495, note) that under capable leaders they were a dangerous foe. It would be wiser, it seemed, to enlist these redoubtable fighters in the British army and navy from which they were debarred by the Penal Laws. (3) Even the English landlords began to reconsider their attitude toward the Irish. Many of the latter, since they could not safely invest in land, turned their

energies to trade and commerce and not without considerable success. English landlords who by riotous living had wasted their fortunes were anxious to sell their land; but the wealthy Irish would not buy it so long as the Penal Laws made its possession insecure. Much as these landlords hated and despised the Catholics, their money was as good to them as that of Protestants. (4) A great change, too, had come over the ideas of people since the Penal Laws were passed. Bigotry had largely given way to religious indifference; the bitter feelings stirred up by the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were dying out. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution helped to spread new ideas of liberty and toleration. Gradually the ruling Protestant class of Ireland began to feel ashamed of the treatment they had meted out to their Catholic countrymen. Some among them became, in fact, the most ardent advocates of the oppressed Catholics, and none more than the illustrious orators *Edmund Burke* (1729–1797) and *Henry Grattan* (1746–1820).

740. The First Irish and English Relief Acts. — The American War brought the first relief to Ireland. Under the leadership of Grattan the Irish parliament passed an act permitting the Catholics to purchase and transfer landed property. By the same act bishops and religious were allowed to live in Ireland (1778). Four years later Grattan secured greater independence to the Irish parliament. But Catholics were still excluded from it, nor could they take part in parliamentary elections.

The year 1778 also brought some relief to English Catholics. But when an extension of these acts to Scotland was proposed a violent storm of bigotry burst forth all over Scotland and England. In London the mob, instigated by Lord Gordon and his Protestant Association, delivered a large number of Catholic chapels and dwellings to the flames; for five days anarchy reigned in the capital, until the troops restored order.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was followed by more

generous relief, both in England and Ireland. Parliament legalized the public worship of the Catholic Church, and the establishment of Catholic schools. It also admitted Catholics to some minor offices. The French Revolution had forced many French priests to seek refuge in England. Their exemplary conduct under many privations helped greatly to remove many prejudices.

741. The Irish Insurrection of 1798 and the "Union." — The *Irish parliament*, more independent since 1782, was far from representing the Irish nation. Of its three hundred members two hundred came from "pocket boroughs," that is, they were appointed by some rich landowner. The Catholics had neither seats nor votes. To bring about a reform of the Irish parliament, Wolfe Tone, a Presbyterian from the North, founded the society of *United Irishmen* embracing both Protestants and Catholics. The English government, however, skilfully aroused the old religious bitterness and thus weakened the society. Moreover, a secret organization, the *Orange lodges*, inflicted every kind of outrage upon the Catholics, and these, especially those who were members of the United Irishmen, retaliated. Usually the magistrates took sides with the Orangemen, and an undisciplined soldiery, mostly recruited from the Orange lodges, was let loose under the pretense of restoring order. The horrible outrages at last goaded the Catholics into rebellion. They relied on help from France, but it came too late, and the rising was crushed with wanton cruelty.

It took 150,000 men and cost 30,000 lives to suppress the civil war, but it hastened the English prime minister's (the younger Pitt's) favorite plan, the abolition of the Irish parliament. Most of the Irish leaders were now dead or banished. By bribes and promises Pitt prevailed upon the Irish parliament to vote away its own existence. The *Act of Union* (1800) put an end to the Irish legislature, and gave instead to Ireland the right to send representatives to the parliament in London.

742. Daniel O'Connell. — For a while the cause of Ireland made little progress. Dissensions broke out and hampered united action. But after 1820 Irishmen again had a leader who knew how to win the enthusiastic support of all classes. This was *Daniel O'Connell*, a young Catholic lawyer. Gifted with marvelous eloquence, untiring energy, and boundless courage, he swayed Irish hearts and Irish votes so completely that he has been called "the uncrowned king of Ireland." In 1823 he founded the *Catholic Association* which gradually spread into every town and village of the Green Isle. The Association enabled O'Connell to put his ideas before the whole nation rapidly and effectively.

Daniel O'Connell.

In 1828 the British parliament was opened to all irrespective of their religion, that is, membership in the Anglican Church was no longer necessary for officeholders and members of parliament (§ 456). The Test Oath, however, which contained a declaration against the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist (§ 456), still remained in force and barred the Catholics from the parliament. Taking advantage of his right of election, O'Connell came before the people of County Clare as candidate for the House of Commons. In spite of the government's efforts, he was elected by an overwhelming majority. During the campaign he openly declared that if elected he would present himself before parliament but would absolutely

refuse to take the infamous oath against the Holy Eucharist. The excitement grew so intense that the government feared another civil war. To prevent it, Wellington and Peel decided to bring in an act abolishing all the civil and political restrictions on the Catholics. The act was passed a few days before O'Connell presented himself before the House of Commons. Henceforth all public offices (a few excepted) and seats in the Lords and Commons were open to Catholics.

743. The Repeal Agitation. — In 1830, O'Connell at the head of an Irish delegation entered the English parliament. One of the first questions that engaged their attention was the *Established Church in Ireland*, a branch of the Anglican Church. It was still supported by the tithes exacted from the impoverished Irish peasantry, though the vast majority of them were Catholics and did not accept its services. Often the whole congregation consisted of the parson and his sexton. O'Connell was unable to bring about its abolition, but the tithes were transferred from the tenants to the landlords (1838).

Then O'Connell began his famous agitation for the *repeal of the Union of 1800*, and the reopening of a separate Irish parliament. Enormous meetings were held all over Ireland, and the Irish leader's eloquence never rose to greater heights. But in 1843 the English government forbade these meetings; O'Connell exhorted his followers to submit. Irish liberty was to be gained by constitutional means, not by violence. Hotter heads, however, were disgusted at this moderation. Some withdrew from his leadership and founded the "Young Ireland" party, after the model of the continental revolutionary societies that played so prominent a part in the political upheaval of 1848 (§ 691). Moreover, the terrible Irish famine (§ 735) checked the agitation. In 1847 the great Irish leader died, leaving his work unfinished. Next year, the "year of revolutions," the "Young Ireland" society tried insurrection, but the attempt was nipped in the bud.

744. The next twenty years saw no progress. — In 1866 came another rising, — the *Fenian Conspiracy*, organized to a great extent by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. It had no chance to succeed, but it showed the extent of Irish disaffection, and thus convinced many of the English Liberal party that something must be done for Ireland. Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868–1874 took up the task.

745. Now a new era opened in Irish history. — The Anglican church in Ireland was "disestablished," that is, entirely abolished (1869). This act was followed, in 1870, by the first of a long series of important reforms of the *land laws*. Two things were attempted: (1) In case of eviction, it was ordered, that the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) the government arranged to lend money on long terms, and at low interest, to the tenants so that they might buy their little patches of land. In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended and improved these laws until the peasants began to be true landowners, with a chance to develop habits of thrift and industry.

746. Meantime in 1870 a group of Irish members of parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," that is, a separate Irish parliament. Soon afterward the same leaders organized the "*Land League*," to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For a time the Liberal ministries frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly, on the ground that it encouraged crime against the landlords. At the same time, indeed, that the government was passing the beneficent land laws, it was also passing "Coercion Acts," to establish martial law in Ireland. The Coercion Acts were resisted by the Irish members with a vehemence seldom before seen in an English parliament, while outside the indignation was still greater. Many Irish leaders were put in jail. But this only made matters worse. In Dublin two prom-

inent English officials were assassinated, and various threats showed how high Irish feeling ran.

747. Suddenly Gladstone made a change of front. — In the new parliament of 1884 the Liberals were too weak to control the Commons without Irish support. But eighty-six of one hundred and five Irish members were "Home Rulers." To win their continued support, Gladstone, in 1886, came forward with a plan for Home Rule and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

But the Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and the ruin of the British Empire, and they were joined by many Liberals who took the name of *Liberal Unionists*. The bill was defeated, but it made the issue in the next election a few years later. In 1893 Gladstone tried to have another Home Rule measure carried. This time the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. Moreover, even in the Commons the majority was small. The Irish members themselves had split into two factions, chiefly because a section opposed their leader, Parnell, on personal grounds. Gladstone, therefore, felt that the nation would not support him in any attempt to "swamp" the Lords. Soon his advanced age compelled him to retire from parliamentary life; the Liberals, left without a leader, went for a time out of power.

748. The Conservatives and Unionists tried to conciliate Ireland by extending still further the system of government loans to the Irish peasantry, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism; moreover, they granted a kind of local "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils, like those of England. The Irish members in the meantime kept up the agitation for national Home Rule, but for a time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in the question. At any rate it was clear that nothing could be done until the power of the House of Lords was broken.

This happened in 1911. Five years before that date the

Liberals had come into power. Various measures proposed by the Liberal majority in the Commons were voted down by the Lords. In 1909 the Liberal leader *Lloyd George* came forward with a radical tax reform. The Commons passed it but the Lords quickly threw it out. Sure of the support of the country, the Liberals now resolved to "mend or end" the Lords. By threatening to create five hundred Peers the ministry forced the Lords to give their consent to a bill which practically reduced them to a nonentity. Under its provisions any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not; and any other measure approved by the Commons in three successive sessions becomes law in spite of the veto of the Lords. As the bill for Home Rule in Ireland was passed three times, in 1912, 1913, and 1914, it was put on the statute books.

David Lloyd George.

But while the majority of Englishmen have become reconciled to the idea of a special Irish parliament, *fierce opposition arose in a small section of Ireland.* Four counties in the northeast of the province of Ulster, where the English and Protestant element is dominant, absolutely refused to be governed by an Irish parliament. Such a body, they maintained, composed almost entirely of Irish Catholics, would be hostile to the interests of this section of Ireland. And when these "*Ulsterites*" saw that they could not prevent the passage of the Home Rule

Act by legal means, they threatened rebellion. Volunteers were enrolled and drilled, and arms were brought into the country. The Irish Nationalists (the Home Rule party) made similar preparations. Civil war seemed imminent. But the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 postponed the issue. The English ministry secured an act suspending the operation of Home Rule until after the War.

For Further Reading. — MacCaffrey, II, Chap. II. Johnston and Spencer is well suited for high school students. See also Canon d'Alton's excellent article on *Ireland* in the Catholic Encyclopedia. For the more recent events consult Hayes, II, pp. 319–330, or Holt and Chilton, pp. 511–518.

CHAPTER LV

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

749. Of all peoples the English are the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semibarbarous races. — The British Empire covers eleven million square miles, or over three times the area of the United States, and its population numbers four hundred millions, or about one fourth of the whole human race. Forty millions of this number dwell in the British Isles, and about twelve million more of English descent live in self-governing colonies, — mainly in Canada and Australia. The other seven eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples.

750. The outlying possessions are of two kinds: (1) those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

751. Some of these colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada and Australia, and, not quite so completely, of Cape Colony. These colonies are said to have "*responsible governments.*" The English ministry appoints a *Governor General,* whose powers resemble those of the king in England. *But the people of the colony elect the local legislature; and the real executive is the local ministry, "responsible" to the legislature,* as the ministry in England is to parliament.

In another group of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. — This class of "*crown colonies*" comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population, of course, is mainly non-European.

GIBRALTAR. — From the Spanish shore.

752. India is a huge crown colony. Until 1857 it remained under the control of the East India Company, but in that year came the *Sepoy mutiny*, — a rising of part of the native soldiers, — and when order had been restored, India was annexed to the British crown. The English ministry appoints a Viceroy and a Council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts the English officials are assisted by the native officers, and to some extent by elected councils of natives.[1]

The English are making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect

[1] Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English "agents."

municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare. The officers of the old East India Company were sometimes rapacious robbers, oppressing the natives to fill their own and the Company's coffers; but since India became a crown colony, English rule, for the most part, has been wise, firm, and just, and has aimed at the good of the natives. India pays no taxes into the English treasury; indeed, she is a drain on that treasury, but her trade is a chief source of British wealth. The petty, constant wars, which formerly were always wasting the land, have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent in a century, — and to-day nearly three hundred million people dwell in India.[1] England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries. Cotton mills give a Western appearance to parts of that ancient Oriental land. India has 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages); and 5,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades.

Still, acute critics maintain that all this is superficial, and that except as to numbers, and except that the people have been forced to stop burning widows alive, the condition of India is little better than before, and there seems to be no attachment among the natives for English rule. The Hindoos cannot understand Western civilization, and they do not like it. Whether England can leaven this vast mass and lift it to a higher life is one of the great problems of the future.

753. Egypt in name was one of the tributary states of Turkey until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully, and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed,[2] restored order, and "occupied" the country.

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[1] Read Kipling's *William the Conqueror*.

[2] England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869. In 1875 the English government (Disraeli's administration) bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property.

After that time, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged; but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice," and the Khedive understood that this advice must be followed. Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too, and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head.

When England put down anarchy in 1881, the ministry declared that the occupancy would be only temporary. This statement of Gladstone's ministry was made in good faith, and was in keeping with other parts of Gladstone's modest foreign policy. None the less, it has long been certain that no English government will willingly give up Egypt; and in 1914, during the great European war, England announced a full protectorate. The possession of that country, together with the mastery of the Suez Canal, insures the route to India; and Egypt has been made a base of operation, also, from which English rule has been extended far toward Central Africa.

754. One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the development of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon colonies of England.— The loss of the American colonies had taught a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

This event took place in Canada in 1837. The two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776. There had been a growing dissatisfaction because the legislatures did not have a more complete control over the finances and over the executive; and the accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but an English commissioner, sent over to investigate, *recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels should be granted.* Parliament adopted this recommendation. In 1839 the two provinces were united and were granted "*responsible*" *ministries.* England, in name, retained a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it has never even been used. In 1850 a like plan for self-government

was granted to the Australian colonies, and, in 1872, to Cape Colony.

755. South Africa is not an altogether satisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars. English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists "trekked" (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. A few years later the British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal river. These "Transvaal" settlers became involved in serious difficulties with the native blacks, and a native rising threatened to exterminate Europeans in South Africa. England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers rebelled, and, with their magnificent marksmanship, destroyed a British force at the *battle of Majuba Hill*. Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of their independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he magnanimously withdrew the British claims and left to the Boers of the Transvaal a virtual independence, under British "protection." The exact relations between the two countries, however, were not well defined, and much ground was left for future disputes.

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them all political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers saw that England had determined to force them to a policy which would put the government of the little land into the hands of these foreign immigrants ("Outlanders"), and they declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten, of course; and England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government, without any discrimination against her recent foes.

756. Federation of Groups of Colonies. — In 1867 another great advance was made by the organization of the Dominion of Canada. This is *a federal state*, similar to the United States, composed now of eight members. The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry; and each of the eight states has its own local legislature and ministry.

Parliament Building at Ottawa.

A similar union of the seven Australian colonies into one federal state was agitated for many years; and, after two federal conventions and a popular vote, it was finally established on the first day of the twentieth century.

Finally, in 1909, the four South Africa states were combined into a similar federation, with the name, "The Union of South Africa."

Thus three new English nations were formed, — each large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States when its independence was achieved).

757. Imperial Federation. — The Boer War and the great European struggle of 1914 showed that there was a strong tie between England and her self-governing colonies; for, both times, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada all made liberal gifts of troops and money to assist the mother country.

The bond which holds together the Anglo-Saxon parts of the Empire is, however, almost wholly one of sentiment. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would hardly be able to hold it. At present the colonists in these lands have no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward foreign nations.

This evil is largely offset by the fact that the English navy affords protection to the Canadian and Australian trade, so that these great and wealthy countries are practically freed from all burden of military and naval defense. Still, the situation is not altogether satisfactory. A Canadian may properly wish a voice in the policy of the Empire; that is, he may wish to be a citizen in as full a degree as if he lived in England: and England may properly think that Canada ought to contribute something to imperial defense. It has been proposed to meet both these wants by some form of *Imperial Federation.*

This means that the different parts of the Empire would be left their present parliaments for local matters, but that the management of matters that concern the Empire as a whole would be turned over to a new parliament made up of representatives in fit proportion from England and her colonies.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, Chap. XXII. A good longer account may be found in Woodward's *Expansion of the British Empire.* Guggenberger, III, §§ 602–613, gives a good outline of the Boer War.

PART IX. WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

CHAPTER LVI

FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC

A. The Paris Commune

758. The National Assembly had hardly arranged peace with Germany (§ 713) when it was confronted with a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege all adult males of the capital had been armed as National Guards. When the siege was over every one who could get away from the distressed city temporarily removed, including one hundred and fifty thousand of the wealthier National Guards. Paris was left to the mercy of the radical and socialistic element. These men had kept their arms, concealed a powerful artillery, and preserved their military organization. They now set up a government of their own by choosing a "*Central Committee.*"

In the meantime the National Assembly had established itself at Versailles. The radical Republicans of Paris suspected that the *Assembly wished to restore the monarchy.* In fact, a large majority of the members of the Assembly were monarchists, as events soon were to prove. Besides, the Assembly incurred the wrath of the poorer classes of the city by two unwise measures. It insisted on the immediate payment of rents and notes which had been suspended during the siege, and it stopped almost entirely the payment of the National Guards, although it was for many the only means of subsistence until normal

conditions returned. The Republicans and Socialists used these harsh measures to stir up the masses and to gain their support for their plans. These plans aimed at the restoration of the First Republic and at revenge for 1848 (§ 673).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like two hostile camps. The Parisians prepared feverishly for the coming struggle. On March 18 the Assembly sent a detachment of troops to secure the artillery of the National Guards. A mob gathered to resist them. The troops refused to fire, and looked on while two of their officers were seized and shot by the mob. Then a considerable number of these National Guards which had hitherto obeyed the Assembly went over to the rebels.

759. The Commune. — Meantime Paris decided to hold an election for a "*General Council.*" The Radicals and Socialists obtained a large majority. The General Council, acting with the Central Committee, set up the Commune and adopted the red flag, March 20, 1871.

The program of the Commune advocated extreme local self-government for all France. For in 1848 the Socialists and Reds had learned that the country districts were overwhelmingly opposed to them. If each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the Radicals hoped to carry out their socialistic policy in Paris and in other large cities.

On account of their demand for this semi-independence of the towns or "communes" the Paris rebels are properly called the "*Communards.*" However, since many of them were Socialists and as such opposed to private property, which according to them should be held in common, they are often referred to as "*Communists.*"

France, though still bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the war, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle classes felt, moreover, that the right of private property was at stake; the Commune had in fact inaugurated such a "Reign of Terror" and plundered so much private

property that the worst fears seemed well grounded. Hence the Assembly of Versailles had the support of the bulk of the nation.

760. The Struggle. — On April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops which had been released from German captivity. The struggle lasted for two months and was utterly ferocious. The Assembly refused to treat the rebels as regular combatants and executed those that fell in its hands. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes that remained in Paris, among them the Archbishop of Paris and about two hundred priests, and threatened to shoot three of them for every one of its soldiers shot after surrender.

The bombardment of Paris by the forces of the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been. After the defenses were sufficiently weakened the troops forced their way into the city. Several sections were already in flames. For the next eight days anarchy reigned in the unfortunate city. Bands of men and women, supplied with petroleum, ran hither and thither, firing public buildings and private houses. The famous Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and other palaces, museums, and art galleries were delivered to the flames and entirely or partly destroyed. Meantime desperate fighting surged from street to street. The Versailles troops pressed on across barricades and burning squares, eager to save the hostages. But they came too late. The Archbishop and sixty-two others were murdered by the frenzied mob. At last the bloody struggle ended with the death or capture of thousands of Communists.

France was in no mood to show mercy. Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to penal colonies where many succumbed to the tropical climate. As in 1848, the middle classes had their revenge, but the mem-

ories of 1848 and 1871 only served to *increase the bitterness between bourgeoisie and proletariat.*

B. The Definite Establishment of the Republic

761. The Assembly had been elected simply with a view to making peace.— In choosing it the people had thought of nothing else. It was limited by no constitution and it had no definite term of office. Certainly it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.

The *Republican party,* under their leader *Gambetta,* had been loudest in clamoring for war, and the same party had continued the war after Sedan. Now, after it was over, the people elected men who could be counted upon not to renew it rashly. As it happened the majority of these men were monarchists. Everybody expected the monarchy to be set up within a short time, and the Assembly did not take that step only because the monarchists were divided into rival groups, each with its own candidate for the throne, *Imperialists* (Bonapartists), *Orleanists* (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and *Legitimists* (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). The Republicans were in the meantime very active among the people; republican sentiment increased rapidly. The monarchists in the Assembly realized that a new election might bring a Republican majority; and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republicans for a dissolution.

762. Presidency of Thiers and MacMahon. — Peace had been made and the Commune crushed. Now the Assembly felt compelled to replace the provisional government (§ 813) by some more regular form. Accordingly, Thiers, hitherto the provisional head of the state, was elected *President of the Republic.* In truth, however, the government remained provisional. The majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a

monarchy at some favorable moment, and they gave Thiers no fixed term of office.

Still his presidency lasted two years longer. During this time France bravely took up the work of *reconstruction*. The educational system and the army were reorganized, the latter after the Prussian model. Then France was freed from foreign occupation. It had been agreed that the war indemnity should be paid in installments through three years, and German garrisons were to remain in France as a security for payment. But in eighteen months the last franc was paid, to the astonishment of friend and foe alike. A large share of the credit for this rapid payment belongs to the French clergy, who untiringly exhorted the people to free their beloved country from the invader.

THIERS.

Thiers himself was an old Orleanist; but he saw that to establish the monarchy was to risk civil war. Accordingly he allied himself with the moderate Republicans in the Assembly. This soon led to friction between the president and the Royalist majority, and, in May, 1873, a coalition of Royalists forced him to resign.

In his place the Royalists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. For some months the restoration of the monarchy seemed almost certain. Legitimists and Orleanists

had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The monarchists had the machinery of government in their hands and were just ready to proclaim the monarchy when the two factions split again. The rupture was due to the stubborn attitude of the future king on some points of detail, notably whether the flag of France should be the tricolor, the emblem of the Revolution of 1830, or the white lilies of the Bourbons. The Count of Chambord indignantly rejected the "symbol of the Revolution" and declared he would not give up the flag of his grandfather. On this formality the negotiations broke down.

763. Then, in 1875, the Assembly adopted a republican constitution. Slightly modified by later amendments, it is the constitution of the present French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people.

The Constitution is very brief, because the monarchists preferred to leave details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt it to a monarchic government. The word "republic" did not appear in the original draft, but was later introduced, indirectly, by amendment. Originally the constitution spoke of a "Chief Executive"; an amendment changed this title to "President of the Republic." In 1884 another amendment declared the republican form of government "not subject to repeal," and royal princes were made ineligible for the presidency. (The Count of Chambord had died the year before.)

764. The Constitution. — The legislature consists of two branches, the *Senate* and the *Chamber of Deputies*. There are three hundred Senators, holding office for nine years. One third goes out each third year. At first seventy-five of the members were to hold office for life, but in 1884 life membership was abolished. The Senators are appointed by electoral colleges made up of deputies, delegates of communes, and others. The Deputies are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term of four years.

When the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies agree that it is desirable to amend the constitution, or when it is necessary to choose a president, the two Houses meet together, at Versailles, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name of *National Assembly*. A simple majority vote of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

The *Executive* consists of a *president*, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of the *ministry* he appoints. The president has much less power than the President of the United States. He is little more than a figurehead. He can act only through his ministers.

The ministers, as in England, are the real executive. They wield enormous power, directing all legislation, appointing a vast multitude of officials, and carrying on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but in practice, he always must name those who will be acceptable to the Chamber, and the ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority of Deputies to support its measures, or when it fails to give a satisfactory explanation of its actions.

France, like most continental states, has not two great parties, such as the Conservatives and Liberals in England or the Republicans and Democrats in the United States. Instead, there are from seven to ten parties none of which can count on the steady support of the majority of voters. Neither are the party lines well defined. Individual members and smaller groups of Deputies frequently abandon their colleagues on particular issues. As a consequence, the majorities supporting a ministry often melt away in a very short time, and the ministry has to resign. Rapid and bewildering changes of ministries have been characteristic of modern political life in France.

765. The Republicans in Power. — Even after the adoption of the new constitution the Assembly did not at once give way to a new legislature. But almost every "by-election" (to

fill a vacancy upon death or resignation) resulted in a victory for the Republicans; and by 1876 that party had gained a bare majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly, and the new elections created a Chamber of Deputies two thirds Republican. The Senate was still monarchic, and, with its support, MacMahon tried to keep a monarchist ministry. The Republicans objected vigorously. Then the president and the Senate dissolved the House of Deputies (as the constitution

The Chamber of Deputies, Paris. — From across the Seine river.

gives them power to do when they act together), and the ministry changed prefects and local officers all over France, in order to control the elections. But the Republicans under the leadership of Gambetta returned even stronger to the House of Deputies than before. This body then withheld all votes of supplies until MacMahon had appointed a Republican ministry. In 1879 the renewal of one third of the Senate gave the Republicans a majority of that House also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected to the presidency Grévy, an ardent Republican; and thus all branches of the

government machinery came under the control of the Republicans.

Since that time the republican form of government has never been seriously threatened. The Third Republic has proved more stable than any other form of government that France has had since 1789. True, there have been occasional dissatisfaction and hopes for change. In 1885, General Boulanger, a Bonapartist and an ardent advocate of a war of revenge against Germany, plotted to become master of France, but his whole scheme collapsed ignominiously. While former governments of France were often the work of a small but determined faction, the Third Republic has the support of the nation at large.

C. France To-Day

766. The Religious Question. — Modern France has been rather unpleasantly conspicuous for a bitter religious struggle. The Catholic Church, to which at least 87 per cent of the French people belong, was the object of constant attacks on the part of the republican government. This requires some explanation.

During the terrible calamity of 1870–1871 nothing could have been more loyal than the attitude of the Catholics, clergy and laity. They vied with each other in arousing and maintaining the patriotic efforts of the nation, and, after the war, they again were in the forefront in healing the many wounds inflicted by the war. In the early seventies a wave of religious fervor swept over the country, and the prospects for the future seemed bright.

The difficulties of the Catholics began with the choice of the new form of government. The National Assembly was strongly Catholic. But it was also, as we have seen, strongly Royalist (§ 761), and so were the majority of the bishops and priests and of the leading Catholic laymen. Their attitude can be understood only from the peculiar circumstances of French history since the Revolution of 1789. That movement had been in-

tensely hostile to the Church and waged against it a war to the knife. The Jacobin leaders inveighed not only against the rights of the clergy, but against religion in general. And ever since that time republicanism was identified with the anti-christian forces, while the monarchists usually were more inclined to respect the rights of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary to say that the Church is not opposed to any form of legitimate government, be it monarchic or republican. But its leaders naturally favored that party from which it expected less hostility.

Just now in the debates on the future form of government the Republicans were led by Gambetta, a fierce and fiery enemy of Catholicism. No wonder that the French Catholics almost in body joined the opposing party. This gave the Republicans a pretext for persecution as soon as they came into power. Gambetta rallied his forces by the slogan, "Clericalism is the enemy," meaning, of course, the enemy of the republic.

767. No sooner was the republic firmly established than the antichristian campaign began in earnest. — From 1876 to 1886 various laws excluded the clergy from public institutions, the army, the hospitals, and other houses of public charity. *But soon the struggle centered around the question of religious education.* In 1886 all religious teaching was banished from the public grade schools. Private schools (corresponding to our parochial schools), however, were allowed to continue, and they flourished exceedingly, though harassed in various ways by the government. The teachers were in almost all cases members of religious orders, and the government realized that so long as these orders existed the private schools would continue successfully to compete with the state schools. Hence the religious orders had to be suppressed.

When, in 1878, the great Leo XIII ascended the papal throne he at once set to work to bring about a better understanding between the Catholics and the Republicans. But his efforts were

thwarted partly by the stubborn attitude of the Royalist Catholics, partly by the antichristian measures of the Republicans. For a while the Catholics endeavored to form a distinctly Catholic party for the defense of their rights at the polls, but the attempt failed because they could not agree whether it should be Royalist or Republican. In 1892 the pope made another attempt to unite the Catholics in loyal support of the Republic and in defense of their interests. But again, after some measure of success, the old dissensions broke out.

Meanwhile, within the Republican ranks the power steadily passed from the Moderates to the Radicals. Finally the latter felt strong enough to deliver decisive blows. In 1901 a law was passed *forbidding all religious orders* and congregations who would not apply to the government for authorization *to teach in any French school, public or private.* A number of them left France at once; others applied for authorization but were rejected and expelled. This, of course, ruined many private schools. Nearly 15,000 of them were closed by 1904.

Then the Republicans proceeded to sever all connection between Church and State. In 1905 *they abolished the Concordat of* 1801 (§ 589) which Napoleon had concluded with the Holy See. This meant that all state support to the Church was withdrawn. The buildings, churches, seminaries, residences of the clergy, etc. became property of the government. The churches are still open to Catholic worship, but only on suffrance by the government. It is not yet possible to foresee all the results of these iniquitous laws. Certainly the French Catholics with great courage have taken up the task of providing for the maintenance of the Catholic religion and of Catholic education under the changed conditions. The Great War (1914) has been the occasion of a marked religious revival, and it is to be hoped that with the return of peace the French Catholics will bury their old dissensions and present a united front to the onslaughts of infidelity.

768. The Administration of France. — France is divided into eighty-six "departments." Each department has an executive office, called a prefect, and a General Council. The prefect is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and he may be removed by the same authority. He appoints the police, postmen, and other local officers. The General Council is elected by the people, but its decrees on local taxation, expenditures, and other matters are subject to the supervision of the government at Paris. Indeed, the central government may dissolve a departmental council at any time and order a reëlection.

The thirty-six thousand communes[1] of France vary in size from the great city of Marseilles to rural villages with only a few hundred people. For all of them there is only one system of government. Each has a mayor and a council. Before 1884 the mayor was chosen by the Minister of the Interior; since that time he is elected by the municipal council. However, he is still under the control of the central government, which may revise his actions or even remove him from office. Likewise, the acts of the municipal council are subject to the approval of the prefects; the Paris government may even dissolve it.

From this it will be clear that the French system of government is much more centralized than ours. It wields an enormous power, reaching down to minute details of local affairs. The large number of offices within the gift of the central government give it a powerful hold on the country and enable it, especially, to exert a great influence on the elections. Political scandals, favoritism, and "graft" have been a rather prominent feature of the Third Republic.

769. Education is free, compulsory, and strictly regulated by

[1] There are two other local divisions, intermediate between commune and department. These two middle divisions are less important. The *canton* is the unit for the administration of justice. The *arrondissement* is the unit for the election of a deputy to the national legislature, like our congressional district.

the state. That is, the government appoints the teachers and prescribes the course of studies. In higher education France holds a prominent place. Its universities and libraries, its museums and art galleries, are among the best in the world and attract many foreign students. Modern France, as the France of Louis XIV, has again achieved great literary and artistic distinction. French taste and French fashion, on account of their refinement and elegance, possess a peculiar charm even over foreigners and set the standard in many countries. French writers, too, through their talent for clear, precise, and elegant expression, have won recognition far beyond their native land. But, unfortunately, some of the greatest lights among them have contributed not a little towards the spread of infidelity and the glorification of vice. Still it is likewise true that much of the best Catholic scholarship and literature hails from France.

770. The People. — A noteworthy fact about the French people is the large number of small landowners and the prosperity of the peasantry. Half the entire population live on the soil. The great mass of the cultivators own little farms from five to twenty-five acres each. The soil is fertile, and the farmer knows his business well. He and his fellows in the trades and professions are very thrifty. The French have rightly been called "*a nation of little savers.*" They are, for the same reason, a nation of money lenders. France, before the Great War, had almost become the world's banker, and many a huge loan had been floated and many a foreign enterprise financed by the French bankers. France furnished England cash for the Boer War (§ 755), Russia about three billions for the development of that country, and American bankers and capitalists the sums needed to tide over the "crisis" of 1907–1908. Her own national debt is held, not like the American or English, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some three million French people, — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, farmers, — in small amounts. The French government encourages this

tendency of the common people to save and to invest by issuing bonds of very small denominations, — even as low as one franc (20 cents).

A less favorable aspect of French society has given much cause for discussion and some concern to French statesmen and patriots. While the population of all European countries during the nineteenth century has increased rapidly, that of France has remained almost stationary. Thus, during the second half of the century her old enemy across the Rhine has grown by over twenty-one millions while France gained less than three millions. The causes of this phenomenon are manifold and need not detain us here. The average Frenchman maintains a high standard of comfort and does not wish to be burdened with a large family. The government has tried various means to encourage large families, but without much success. The only remedy will be a return of the masses to practical Christianity.

771. Colonies. — About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. The century-long duel with England was then half over. "New France" was written on the map across the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi; and the richest lands of the Orient seemed within the French grasp. Thirty years later saw France stripped of all her possessions outside of Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean, in the Antilles, and some small ports in India (§§ 495–498).

But in the nineteenth century France again became a colonial power. In 1830 she gained a foothold in Algiers in North Africa. The little territory grew, through constant savage and bloody wars, into complete military occupancy of entire *Algeria;* and in the early years of the Third Republic civil rule was introduced. Since 1880 it is not so much a foreign possession as a part of France, separated from the rest by a strip of sea. It is divided into three departments which are ruled

essentially like French departments. Under the French administration something of that fertility and bloom which had made it one of the finest Roman colonies returned to the desolate Barbary Coast.

In 1881 France seized *Tunis,* to the east of Algeria, as a "protectorate," that is, France controls its relations with foreign governments, but leaves it to manage its own internal affairs, — except that the French enjoy special privileges in the country. In 1904 France began to reduce *Morocco* to a like condition.

The rest of the vast colonial empire, apart from these possessions in North Africa, has been acquired since the Franco-Prussian War (except for a small beginning made by Napoleon III); but the seizure of territory has very commonly been based upon ancient claims connected with the period before the French Revolution. In Asia, France controls the greater part of the peninsula of *Indo-China.* In Africa she kept hold upon *Senegal* from her ancient colonial empire, and since 1884 she has acquired huge possessions on both the east and west coasts, besides the great island of *Madagascar* (see map of Africa). In America France holds *Guiana* (or Cayenne), the notorious penal colony where so many political exiles succumbed to the murderous climate, and a few islands in the Lesser Antilles. In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887, she secured *New Caledonia* and several smaller islands.

Though France has these vast possessions, she is not a colonizing nation. Large parts of these regions are almost uninhabited, or peopled by savage tribes, and are under military government. The total population (not counting the protectorates) is about forty-one millions. But even in the settled portions the European population is small. The French, as a rule, do not emigrate. The fertility of the home soil and the scant increase of the home population do not urge the average Frenchman to seek his fortunes elsewhere. The total area of the colonial

possessions is about four million square miles, of which about three and a half millions are in Africa. All the settled and orderly regions have a share in self-government, and some of them have representatives in the legislature at Paris.

772. Though France has not sent many of her people as settlers to the colonies, she has achieved distinction in another field of world-enterprise, **evangelization.** In that heroic band of *missionaries* which the Catholic Church sends to every quarter of the globe to carry out her Divine Founder's injunction "Go ye and teach all nations," the French missionaries easily stand in the forefront. In the ease with which they adapt themselves to all climes and all nations, in the intrepidity with which they face hardship, danger, and death, they exhibit the best and noblest traits of the temper of France, the France of the Crusades and of medieval chivalry. To-day the majority of missionaries are Frenchmen, and a great part of the sums needed to carry on the mission work is contributed by the generous French Catholics. Besides, the apostolic and scholarly labors of these missionaries have done much to maintain French influence and French prestige in Asia Minor, India, China, and elsewhere.

For Further Reading. — Hayes, II, Chap. XXIII. For the struggle between Church and State see MacCaffrey, I, Chap. VIII. Macy and Cannaway, or Wilson, may be consulted for good outlines of the government.

CHAPTER LVII

GERMANY AFTER 1871

A. The Government

773. A Federal State. — The Germanic Confederation (1815–1867) was a *confederacy* of sovereign states, a union even weaker than that of our American states under the Articles of Confederation. The German Empire was a true *federal state*, like our own present union.

It had this peculiarity, however, that it was the only strong federal state in existence made up of monarchies. Of the twenty-five states composing the Empire, four were kingdoms, (Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg); eighteen more were duchies, grand duchies, or principalities; and only three were republican in character, — the city republics, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. Each of these twenty-five states had its own legislature and executive. Alsace-Lorraine, the territory wrested from France in 1871, had never full state rights. In 1911 it was given a constitution with a native upper and lower House, but the executive (governor) remained an appointee of the Emperor.

774. The Reichstag. — The German national legislature consisted of two Houses, the Lower House, or *Reichstag*, and the Upper House, or *Bundesrath*. The former was made up of representatives of the people. The members were elected by manhood suffrage, in single districts, like our congressmen, for a term of five years. There were, in 1914, 397 delegates, 236 of which came from Prussia alone. This system calls for a periodic reapportionment of the representatives, to suit

changes in population in the various districts. But while in the United States we have such a reapportionment every ten years (after every census) Germany until 1914 had none. In the meantime the population in some districts had doubled and trebled, while in others it had remained stationary, but the representation of the former was the same as that of the latter. This inequality operated chiefly against the Socialists. Thus, in the elections of 1912, the Socialist vote was more than twice that of the next largest party (the Center), but their representatives in the Reichstag were 112 and 89 respectively.

Every measure had to pass the Reichstag to become law, but, though that body had the power to initiate legislation, it seldom did so, because it had little chance of seeing its bills passed by the Bundesrath, unless it had had first made sure of the approval of the government. Even financial bills did not need, as in England and the United States, to be first introduced in the Reichstag. Moreover, the appropriations for the army were usually granted for a number of years, and once granted could be recalled only with consent of the Bundesrath.

775. The Bundesrath. — That body was really an assembly of the delegates, or ambassadors, of the various *sovereigns* of the Empire. It consisted of sixty-one members appointed by the executives of the different states in fixed proportions. Prussia had seventeen, seventeen of the smaller states had one each; and the other eight states had from two to six each. These delegates were usually instructed; that is, they voted in a body either in favor of or against a measure as they were told to do by the government of the state they represented. Since this body practically initiated all legislation and since it framed the budget, it was really the most important branch of the legislature, and the Reichstag was practically limited to accepting or rejecting Bundesrath measures.

But the Bundesrath was more than that. *Its powers were partly executive.* From its members were formed some of the

THE GERMAN EMPIRE
1871-1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
Kiel Bay
FEHMARN
Kiel
Lubeck Bay
K. Wilhelm Canal
Cuxhaven
Lübeck
MECKLENB
Schwerin
SCHWERIN
Altona
Hamburg
Harburg
Elbe R.
Oldenburg
Bremen
Weser R.
Ems R.
OLDENBURG
HANOVER
Aller R.
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
NETHERLANDS
Hanover
Osnabrück
Brunswick
Hildesheim
LIPPE
Münster
Detmold
BRUNS
Halberstadt
Magdeb
Bernburg
ANHA
Maas R.
Rhine R.
WESTPHALIA
Essen
Dortmund
Crefeld
Düsseldorf
Barmen
Elberfeld
Cassel
Nordhausen
Halle
Mulhausen
BRUSSELS
BELGIUM
Cologne
Mülheim
RHINE
PROV.
Aachen
Bonn
Gotha
Erfurt
THURINGIA
Coburg
Plau
Frankfort
Hanau
Wiesbaden
Mainz
Darmstadt
Würzburg
Bamberg
Bayreut
LUXEMBURG
Treves
Worms
Mannheim
Kaiserslautern
PALATINATE
Heidelberg
Fürth
Nuremburg
Rheims
LORRAINE
Metz
Heilbronn
Karlsruhe
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
Nancy
Strasburg
ALSACE
WURTEMBERG
Danube R.
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
Leach R.
Isar R.
Rhine R.
Frieburg
Mülhausen
Constance
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
4
6
8
10
12
50
52
54
48

14
16
18
20
22
Memel
Tilsit
Konigsberg
Pregel R.
Gulf of Danzig
Danzig
Stolp
Elbing
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
Allenstein
Graudenz
Bromberg
Thorn
Netze R.
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Warsaw
Posen
Warta R.
Oder R.
Stettin
Frankfort
BERLIN
Gubin
Kottbus
Forst
Bautzen
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Zittau
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Ratibor
Krakow
Vistula R.
Prague
Danube R.
VIENNA
Budapest
POLAND
GALICIA
MORAVIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
USEDOM I.
WOLLIN I.
1. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen
2. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
3. Saxe-Weimar
4. Saxe-Altenburg
5. Saxe-Meiningen

most important committees of the Empire, and through them and under the guidance of the Chancellor it officially instructed the various ministers and heads of departments.

776. The Emperor was not a ruler, at least in theory, but rather the president of the federation of states. This presidency was hereditary with the king of Prussia, — somewhat as if the governor of New York were ex-officio President of the United States. The Emperor had almost absolute *control over foreign relations*, declared defensive and (with the consent of the Bundesrath) offensive war. He supervised the execution of the imperial laws, but as there were no imperial officials to carry them out, their execution was intrusted to the state officials, and his powers in this respect were rather limited.

His chief authority came from the fact that he was master in Prussia, not only in Prussian but also in imperial affairs. As sovereign of Prussia he instructed the Prussian delegation to the Bundesrath. With his seventeen delegates and those of some smaller states which usually voted with Prussia he really controlled that most important branch of the legislature. Moreover, the chairmanship of nearly all important committees belonged to Prussia, and therefore to the appointees of its king. And last but not least, the Emperor selected all the ministers of Prussia as well as of the Empire.

777. The Chancellor was at the head of both ministries. Bismarck was the first to fill this position. In reality the Chancellor was the only minister, as all the heads of the other departments were subject to him. He countersigned every act and decree of the Emperor and thereby, according to the constitution, assumed the responsibility for them. But the constitution failed to define exactly in what this responsibility consisted, and in practice it amounted to nothing more than occasional sharp criticisms of the Chancellor by the Reichstag. Unlike the English or French prime minister, he was not obliged to resign if outvoted by the Reichstag.

Amendments to the constitution were made just as ordinary laws were passed, except that fourteen negative votes in the Bundesrath were enough to veto a proposal. Thus the king of Prussia alone, or the smaller states alone, or the South German states alone, could prevent a change.

778. Prussia and the Other States. — The population of Prussia is about two thirds that of entire Germany. Her king was the Emperor, the head of her ministry was usually also Chancellor of the Empire, and her military system was extended as far as possible throughout the whole Empire.

The Prussian constitution, until recently, was the one granted by Frederick William IV (§ 687). The legislature (Landtag) consisted of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives. All males had a vote in the election of the Lower House, but according to a peculiar system which gave an undue advantage to the wealthier citizens. The people did not vote directly for the candidates but for electors. There were *three classes of voters*, and each class was entitled to the same number of representatives. The first class was made up of the largest taxpayers, who together paid one third of the taxes; the next largest taxpayers, paying another third, formed the second class; and the rest of the people, who paid the remaining third, formed the third class. It is clear that the first class was the smallest and the third the largest. But since each class had the same number of representatives the wealthier taxpayers were by far better represented than the poorer working people and the peasants. In 1907, for instance, the first class cast 153,808 votes, while 2,591,950 voted in the third class. There are other European states that have not yet adopted universal and equal suffrage, but nowhere had the vote of the richer classes a more powerful influence than in Prussia.

The Great War resulting in Germany's defeat has upset the whole machinery of government in that country. At present (1919) it is not possible to say what will take its place.

It seems, however, certain that the antiquated features which have just been described will not be revived.

779. Administration and Army. — The management of domestic affairs was honest and frugal. The officials were usually well trained to perform their duties efficiently and economically. Notably in the administration of the large cities the German officials have achieved undeniable success. But bureaucratic arrogance and their habit of meddling in everything made them often odious to the people.

The Prussian army system had been extended over entire Germany. At twenty each man was obliged to enter the ranks for two years' service. For five years more he belonged to the active reserves, with two months each year in camp. This took the soldier to his twenty-seventh year. The next twelve years he formed part of the territorial reserve (Landwehr). As a matter of fact, however, in times of peace it was impossible to bring every man into the ranks. Exemption was allowed not only to those who suffered from physical defects, but also to the only son of a widow, to clergymen and others. Young men who passed through higher institutions of learning spent only one year in active service.

The army on peace footing comprised all those who were undergoing active training. In case of war this body and the active reserves were ready for offensive operations, while the territorial reserves were to perform garrison duties and to guard lines of communication. In case of actual invasion all other males between seventeen and forty-five, or the army of emergency (Landsturm), were to be called out. This system enabled Germany to put over five million trained men into the field.

It is plain that the maintenance of such enormous forces constituted a heavy burden and a constant drain on the nation's resources. But the Prussian victories in 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe of its advantages, and since that time almost every large state has adopted it, with slight modifications. No doubt, certain good results come from the military discipline, but on the whole it is the most woeful waste of energy that the world has ever seen. It is also a *constant temptation to war.*

A military power has a multitude of highly trained officers and manufacturers of military engines who are anxious for war, because of the opportunities to achieve distinction or to augment their revenue. "*Militarism*," too, is often one of the results of the existence of great armies, and it was certainly a prominent feature of the German Empire. By this term we understand the tendency to subordinate everything to military efficiency and to expect less from a peaceful discussion of difficulties with other states than from intimidation and threats with the sword.

780. The Emperors. — William I was personally a man of simple habits and good intentions, but in public life he disappeared behind the towering figure of Bismarck, who as Chancellor guided the domestic and foreign policy of the Empire until 1890. In 1888 Frederick III succeeded his father. He was very popular, even in the southern states where the events of 1866 were not easily forgotten. He had long been hostile to Bismarck, and, being an admirer of the English constitution and the husband of one of Queen Victoria's daughters, he might have brought about important changes in the government, but he was suffering from a fatal disease at the time of his accession which carried him off after a reign of three months.

William II then ascended the throne. He soon showed that he meant to be no mere figurehead but to take a large personal share in the government. A conflict with the all-powerful Bismarck was unavoidable, and two years after William's accession the Iron Chancellor was suddenly dismissed from office. He retired to his estates, where he did not preserve an altogether dignified silence, but frequently indulged in bitter criticisms of the "new course." He died in 1898.

781. After that time William II himself directed the policy of the Empire. He displayed an abundant self-confidence that frequently led him to disregard the advice of his ministers. The results of this personal government were on the whole not

satisfactory. At first he seemed to be bent upon establishing good relations with all of Germany's powerful neighbors. But his autocratic inclinations and sudden changes of opinion caused no little uneasiness and embarrassment to the nation, while his frequent references to Germany's "shining armor" and her great mission irritated the feelings of others. In the management of domestic matters the Kaiser's restless activity was more productive of results. During his reign industry and commerce developed at a tremendous rate until they were surpassed only by Great Britain and the United States.

The emperor was a *thorough believer in the "divine right" theory* (§ 425), and he repeatedly stated it in striking form. "The will of the king is the supreme law," runs one of his emphatic utterances. "The noblest task of the state is to protect the weaker classes of society and to aid them to higher economic development. . . . But this must be done by the state and not by the people," is another of his undemocratic statements. And in an address to a body of teachers he told them to teach that the French Revolution was an "unmitigated crime against God and man," thus proving himself unable to distinguish between the beneficial results and the excesses of that movement.

B. Recent Movements

782. The Kulturkampf. — The new German Empire was hardly established when Bismarck inaugurated a *persecution of the Catholics*. During the last thirty years of the Confederation the Catholic body had grown in numbers, and, above all, in religious fervor and unity of purpose. This aroused the jealousy of the conservative Protestants, who were wont to look upon Prussia as an essentially Protestant state in which the members of the official Protestant church alone were to possess weight and influence. The Liberals, on the other hand, who had been foremost in advocating a united Germany under Prussian leadership, worked for a different end. The nation was to dissociate itself entirely from any positive religious teaching; and the state, with the help of the state schools and

the legislature, was to secure absolute control over the intellectual life (the Kultur) of the nation. And since the Catholics more than any other religious body opposed irreligious education, the Liberals naturally regarded them as their principal enemies. The struggle, therefore, upon which they entered was in their view a conflict between two civilizations (Kulturkampf) a civilization without God and a civilization based on religion. But the real leader in the onslaught on the Catholic Church in Germany was Bismarck himself. Flushed with his recent successes he believed that the complete unity of the Empire demanded the absolute subjection of the Church to the State. This meant of course for the Catholics separation from the Holy See; and Bismarck hoped, indeed, that eventually it would be possible to create a sort of German National Church wide enough to embrace both Protestants and Catholics. But he was doomed to bitter disappointment.

Shortly before the Franco-Prussian War, Pope Pius IX summoned to Rome a great *ecumenical council*, to be held in the *Vatican palace* (1868–1870). Among other important decisions this council defined the *infallibility of the Pope*, that is, it declared that the Roman Pontiff when addressing the entire Church and defining a point of faith or morals cannot err. Though the dogma was in the end almost unanimously accepted, during the debates preceding the final vote many bishops opposed its definition on various grounds, principally on the ground that it was untimely. Outside of the council, especially in Germany, an outcry was raised against this "new papal aggression." And since many of the German bishops in the council were among those who objected to the definition, Bismarck hoped to win them over to his schemes. But the bishops one and all refused to listen to his proposals, and when the dogma of infallibility was finally accepted by the Council they all loyally submitted. Then the Iron Chancellor resorted to force and with the help of the strong Liberal element in the

Reichstag he passed a series of laws, designed gradually to wean the Catholics from the influence of the Holy See. In 1871 the Catholic section of the ministry of worship was suppressed and the preaching of the clergy was put under the surveillance of the police. The next two years saw the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and other religious orders from the territory of the Empire. At the same time there began a campaign of persecution against the Catholic *Poles* in the eastern provinces, attacking their religion and their language. Then the clergy was deprived of all influence over the schools. All these measures were so many violations of the Prussian constitution which explicitly guaranteed religious liberty. To remove this objection and to clear the ground for still more drastic legislation Bismarck and his parliamentary majority simply annulled the respective articles of the constitution.

783. Then followed the notorious "May Laws," so called because they were passed in the month of May of three successive years (1873–1875). They suppressed the free exercise of papal jurisdiction in Germany, interfered with the proper education of the clergy in the seminaries, prevented bishops from punishing disobedient members of their flocks, and deprived them of the free appointment to ecclesiastical offices. Salaries were stopped; fines, imprisonment, or exile threatened bishops and priests who refused to submit to these brutal laws. Various rewards and favors awaited those who acquiesced. Yet it was all in vain. "*We shall not go to Canossa*" (§ 228), confidently boasted Bismarck in the Reichstag, but soon the magnificent resistance of the Catholic body forced him to acknowledge defeat. Bishops, priests, and laymen rose as one man for the defense of their faith. The May Laws were everywhere quietly but resolutely resisted. Hundreds preferred prison and exile to ignominious submission. Under the brilliant leadership of Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, and others the Catholics formed a *political party*, called the *Center*. It increased from election

to election and finally held the balance of power in the Reichstag. By its unity of purpose and action, its unflinching devotion to Catholic principles, and its strictly lawful methods, it won the admiration of right-thinking people all over the world and inspired many of those who suffered for the same cause in other lands with new courage and determination.

784. Gradually Bismarck realized that he had undertaken a hopeless task and started on his bitter "journey to Canossa." The election of a new pope (1878), the wise and peace-loving Leo XIII, smoothed the way for him. One by one the iniquitous laws were repealed or were allowed to drop into oblivion. The pope, on his part, conceded as much as he could, granting, for instance, to the government a restricted veto on candidates for bishoprics. When Bismarck went out of office, in 1890, the Catholics had recovered most of their former rights, though not all their grievances have been removed. The religious orders returned, one by one, and the Great War (1914–18) opened the Empire again even to the Jesuits. William II, on the whole, followed a conciliatory policy. It is, however, the opinion of many observers that the Kulturkampf may be renewed under a different form. Sincere toleration, such as we enjoy it in America, has never been the program of the ruling classes in Germany.

785. Socialism. — One of the reasons why Bismarck changed his attitude toward the Catholics was the *alarming growth of Socialism.* After 1848 the principles of Karl Marx (§ 662) began to take root in Germany, chiefly through the activity of his zealous disciples, Engels and Lassalle. It made little progress until in Germany as in other countries the Industrial Revolution had created the large army of industrial workers. Then the workingmen began, not only to form labor unions for the defense of their rights, but to found a new political party, known as the Social Democratic Party. It based its platform on the teachings of Karl Marx. In 1875 that platform was

boldly published with demands not only for the relief of the laborers but for a greater democratization of the Empire. In the elections of the same year the Social Democrats polled some four hundred and forty thousand votes.

Bismarck took alarm, and three years later he had a law passed to *suppress socialistic agitation.* It prohibited public meetings, publication of socialistic literature, and associations having for their purpose "the subversion of the public order." Two attempts made on the emperor's life on the part of anarchists furnished him with the pretext for these harsh measures. Although the Socialist party contained at that time many anarchistic and revolutionary members, such drastic measures in no way checked the advance of Socialism, but rather helped it; for the Socialists were not slow to excite the masses by pointing to the tyranny of the government. However, the rapid growth of the movement must at least in part be attributed to the contempt for religion fostered by the anti-religious Liberal agitation during the Kulturkampf.

786. Bismarck himself soon saw the futility of his measures and adopted a different policy. *The state, by social legislation, was gradually to remove the real grievances* of the workingmen and thus to remove the sources of discontent. The Socialist leaders, he expected, would then soon be without arguments and hence without followers. He, therefore, advocated in the last decade of his public career a number of reforms which gradually developed into a complete system of social legislation and which has to some extent been imitated by other countries. Its principal feature was a *threefold obligatory insurance of the workingmen* (1) against accidents, (2) against illness, (3) against old age and incapacity to earn a livelihood. The necessary funds were obtained by assessing the workingman for a small percentage of his wages; but the employer and, in some cases, the state also contributed a share. Thus, for instance, one kind of insurance provided an income for workmen incapacitated

by sickness. Every wage earner was obliged to take out this insurance, and, to this end, was assessed to about three per cent of his wages. The money thus obtained constituted about two thirds of the existing sick funds, the rest being made up by the employers. In case of illness the insured, as a rule, received free medical treatment and at least half of his daily wage. This kind of insurance was so widely introduced that the various sick funds paid annually about twenty-five million dollars in sick benefit money. The other systems of insurance worked in a similar manner. The success of these measures in relieving poverty and distress was very gratifying. Other acts against child labor, long hours of work, danger to the moral and physical health of the laborers followed one another during the last years of the nineteenth century.

Bismarck, however, does not deserve all the credit for these beneficial reforms. He was guided not so much by a sense of justice toward the weaker classes as by a desire to combat the spread of Socialism. Hence he constantly wavered between real reform and repression, and many of the best features of Germany's social legislation were passed only after his dismissal from office. The party that most consistently worked for the uplift of the poorer class was the Catholic Center. Long before Bismarck took any interest in the matter, *Ketteler*, the great bishop of Mainz (§ 663), saw the evils of the factory system and maintained that it was the duty of the state to protect the workingmen. When, after the Kulturkampf, the Catholics found time for constructive work they, through their splendidly organized Center party, advocated most of the reform bills and secured the necessary majorities in the Reichstag.

787. But these reforms did not check the progress of Socialism. — For a short while, indeed, the relative strength of the Socialists diminished, but after 1890 it grew rapidly and constantly and now bids fair to remain for a long time the most powerful political organization of Germany. In 1871,

in the first elections held after the establishment of the Empire, the Socialists cast 124,000 votes, or about four per cent of the total; in 1890 1,427,000, or about twenty per cent, and in 1912 4,239,000, or nearly thirty-five per cent of all the votes. During the same period their representatives in the Reichstag increased from two to one hundred and ten, and this figure would have been still higher if the arrangement of the electoral districts had not operated against them.

But it must not be supposed that all the voters for the socialistic platform were, strictly speaking, Socialists.[1] A large part of *vague discontent with the government* and with its autocratic character found expression in votes cast for Socialist candidates. The other parties, with the exception of the Center, were slow in demanding certain reforms, as for instance, the reapportionment of the electoral districts and the responsibility of the ministers to the parliament. Hence the dissatisfied part of the voters were driven into the arms of the Socialists, especially in the Protestant sections of the country, where the Center party, on account of its Catholic character, could not gain any foothold.

In recent years the Socialist leaders fell out among themselves. While in the nineties of the last century the Socialists usually opposed all legislation for the betterment of the working classes on the ground that such legislation merely delayed the general upheaval of society, some of their present leaders advocate more coöperation with other parties and hope for a gradual transformation by peaceful means. At the same time they attack some points in the Marxian system which older Socialists considered as essential, and propose a revision of that system. Some bitter controversies in the Socialistic camp have been the consequence of these differences of opinion. Whatever the future

[1] In 1912, for instance, when the Socialists polled over four million votes, there were only 970,000 enrolled Socialists, including over one hundred thousand women who had no votes.

has in store for Germany it seems certain that the numerous and well-organized Socialists will play an important part in any settlement.

C. Trade and Colonies

788. Industrial Progress. — The old Germany was essentially an agricultural country, and its foreign trade was of little consequence. After 1880 German manufactures, encouraged by high protective tariffs, mounted by leaps and bounds, and the label "Made in Germany" began to appear on all sorts of articles in all parts of the globe. The German manufacturers acquired a reputation for skill and accuracy, and easily adapted themselves to the needs of various nations. Before 1900 German commerce surpassed that of all other nations, except England and the United States, although the natural resources of that country are in most respects inferior to those of its rivals. In the meantime agriculture was not neglected, but promoted by the application of the most scientific methods. Indeed, the *intimate coöperation of the scientist and the practical worker* is characteristic of Germany's economic progress.

789. Population and Colonies. — German population increases very rapidly. In 1815 the states included in the later German Empire had a population of 25 millions. In 1911 the number was almost 65 millions. This increase resulted for a time in a large German emigration, which went mainly to the United States and South America.[1] Partly to secure commercial advantages for her citizens abroad, and partly in hopes of keeping the future German emigrants under the German flag, the government, after a period of indifference, adopted the policy of acquiring colonies.

[1] Of late years, emigration has declined. In the nineties, it was from 200,000 to 300,000 a year. Between 1910 and 1914, it has been under 30,000 a year. The rapid development of German industry has furnished industrial opportunity at home.

Bismarck announced this plan in 1884. At that time Germany had no possessions outside of Europe; and as she was late in entering the nineteenth century scramble for foreign possessions she had to be satisfied with what was left by her more fortunate rivals. In *Africa* she acquired vast colonies mainly on the Guinea coast and in the southwest and southeast. In the *western Pacific* she owned several valuable groups of islands. Shortly after 1890 she began acquiring concessions for railroads and mines in *Asia Minor* from the Turkish government, and this rich region, so long abandoned to barbarians, promised, before the outbreak of the Great War, to become one of the most important fields for European enterprise.

In 1898 another field opened which seemed even more promising. The murder of certain German subjects in *China* was made the excuse for a long lease on a valuable Chinese port, Kiau Chau, with a large adjacent territory. From this center Germany acquired a "sphere of influence" in eastern China, in which German capitalists developed mines and built railroads, as the Russians were doing in the north and Frenchmen and Englishmen in the south. Germany was rapidly converting a rich section of China into a German dependency; but early in the Great War of 1914 Japan expelled her from China.

As a colonizing nation Germany has not been very successful. The government has been steadily losing money with its colonial undertakings. Capitalists in small numbers went to Asia Minor and to China, but they did not go to Africa; and the mass of German emigrants went to America, giving up German citizenship, chiefly because the existing German colonies with their tropical climate deterred the German emigrant. German colonies contained a population of some 14 millions in 1911, but only twenty thousand of these were white. It was often rumored that the government was anxious to obtain possessions in South America, where German emigrants might make their homes; and but for the Monroe Doctrine of the United

States some attempts would perhaps have been made in this direction.

For Further Reading. — Hayes, II, Chap. XXIV. MacCaffrey, I, Chap. X, has an excellent narrative of the Kulturkampf. Woodrow Wilson's *The State* gives a clear treatment of the constitution. For the domestic and foreign policy of Bismarck and his successors consult, beside the general histories of Hayes and Hazen, Holt and Chilton, *European History 1862–1914*.

CHAPTER LVIII

ITALY SINCE 1870

790. The Constitution of Italy is essentially that given to Piedmont-Sardinia in 1848. It provides for a limited monarchy, somewhat after the type of the French government of Louis Philippe, but more liberal. By custom, as in England and France, the ministries resign when they no longer have a parliamentary majority. Local government and administrative courts are patterned after the French model.

At first high property qualifications were required for voters. The electoral law of 1895 extended the franchise to all male citizens who had reached the age of twenty-one and who could read and write. This still excluded about half the adult males. In 1912 universal manhood suffrage was introduced which at one stroke increased the number of voters from three to eight millions. The Socialists profited most by this measure.

The government of United Italy abolished most of the old private schools conducted by members of religious orders, and replaced them by its own system of public education. Primary instruction is gratuitous, compulsory, and under state supervision, but attendance is not well enforced. Although illiteracy has somewhat declined, nearly one half of the people cannot read and write. The cause lies partly in the poverty of many families, which forces them to make their children wage earners before they are twelve years old, partly in the quality of the teachers, whose salary is often below that of a workingman. Frequently, too, those teachers become the apostles of Socialism and infidelity. The higher educational institutions are often

excellent, and in many fields Italian scholars hold an eminent place.

At its birth the kingdom of Italy was far behind other states in material progress. Its proper task was to provide for education, to repress brigandage, and to develop the resources of the land. In all this something has been achieved, but the government has been hampered by its poverty and by the tremendous expenditures for military purposes; sometimes, too, by the greed and dishonesty of the higher officials.

Taxation is crushing; and still, much of the time the government can hardly meet expenses. A fourth of the revenue goes to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest is for military purposes, leaving only a small part for the more peaceful tasks of the government. To make ends meet the administration has been driven to desperate financial expedients. Salt and tobacco have been made government monopolies, the state runs a lottery, and taxation upon houses, land, and income is so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry. Moreover, to relieve the financial stress, the Italian government has resorted to the old expedient of annexing ecclesiastical property. The great Catholic institutions in Rome and elsewhere have been partly or entirely deprived of their income. But while education and religion have been seriously injured, the hope for financial prosperity has failed to materialize. On the other hand, frequent cases of embezzlement of public funds, involving high officials and even ministers, have been a scandal to the nation.

The economic distress has led to political and socialistic agitation. The government usually met this by stern repressive legislation. Riots and bloodsheds and local revolutions were often accountable for large parts of Italy being in "state of siege" or under martial law. Socialism in Italy, as in other countries, has increased tremendously and has become a real danger to existing institutions.

791. Colonial and Territorial Questions. — On account of the economic misery large numbers leave Italy each year, mainly for North and South America. Partly in hope to retain these emigrants as Italian citizens, the government took up the policy of securing colonial dependencies. Attention was first turned to Tunis, but when France there anticipated Italy the latter acquired valuable territory on the *Abyssinian* coast in Northeast Africa (1885). From 1889 to 1896, indeed, Italy held a protectorate over all Abyssinia; but in the latter year an Italian army was destroyed in the interior, and Italian control was again reduced to the coast district of *Eritrea*. Up to the present time, however, emigration has not been directed in any considerable degree to this possession. In 1911–1912 Italy seized *Tripoli* from Turkey, renaming it *Libya*.

One other territorial ambition has long been before the public, the so-called "*Italia Irredenta*" (Unredeemed Italy). By this Italians understand the Austrian Trentino on the southern slopes of the Alps, with a population of about three hundred thousand souls, largely Italian in speech. There has been, too, a desire to incorporate into modern Italy the eastern Adriatic coast, a part of the former Republic of Venice. Italy entered the Great War to secure these coveted territories.

792. The Roman Question. — There is another serious problem which divides public opinion of Italy into two hostile camps. We have seen (§§ 696–700) how the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia made modern Italy by annexing one after the other of the small Italian states restored by the Congress of Vienna. In 1860 only two provinces, *Venetia* and *Rome* with its surrounding territory, were still outside of United Italy. The former was acquired in 1866 (§ 706). The latter fell into the hands of the Piedmontese in 1870. Up to that year Napoleon III, forced by public opinion, had kept a small garrison in Rome for the defense of the remaining territory of the Holy See. But at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War he with-

drew that garrison. The Piedmontese hoped that an insurrection would break out in Rome and furnish them with a decent pretext for intervention and annexation. But no such outbreak occurred. In the meantime Napoleon had been defeated at Sedan. This freed the Italian government from all fear of France. The Italian troops then marched upon Rome, and, nearly three weeks after Sedan, on *September 20, 1870,* after a short skirmish with the small papal army they entered the city of the popes. In October Victor Emmanuel ordered the people to vote for or against annexation to Italy. Great care was taken to secure an imposing majority; many papal sympathizers were put under arrest; on the other hand prisoners were released; boys under age, foreigners and "patriots" from all parts of Italy were induced to swell the number of voters, and everybody was allowed to vote as often as he liked. These measures were hardly necessary, for Pope Pius IX forbade all loyal Catholics to take part in the plebiscite. Thus the Sardinian king easily obtained a large majority in favor of annexation. But Pius IX energetically protested against these proceedings, and neither he nor his successors accepted the settlement. During the following year the Italian parliament passed a series of laws, called the "*Laws of Guarantees,*" professing to regulate the relations of the Italian government to the pope. The latter was to remain in full possession of the Vatican palace, to be recognized as an independent sovereign, to be free to communicate with all parts of the world, and to receive an annual pension of $600,000 for the maintenance of the papal court and the papal offices. Attacks on the person of the Holy Father were to be punished in the same manner as offenses against the king. The popes never accepted the money, and as a protest against the Italian usurpation they refuse to leave the Vatican palace; for in doing so they would be forced to traverse territory held by the Italian government, and according to international custom this would amount to a recognition

of the Italian title to that territory. At first, too, the popes warned the Italian Catholics not to take part in the elections, but recently this prohibition has been somewhat relaxed, to offset the rapid increase of the socialistic and radical vote. This is the situation at present. It is evident that the *Roman Question* cannot be settled by a Law of Guarantees, having no greater stability than the majority of an Italian parliament. The position of the Holy Father, whose subjects are to be found in every nation, cannot, even apparently, be made to depend on any nation. The Laws of Guarantees may be repealed at any time by an Italian parliament. As a matter of fact, they have been repeatedly violated by Italian subjects, without so much as a word of protest from the Italian government. We may sincerely hope that the Italian people may preserve their long wished-for independence and unity, but we must insist, too, that as long as the security of the Holy Father and his freedom in the exercise of his sacred office depend merely on the good will of fickle parliamentary majorities, *the Roman Question cannot be regarded as settled.*[1]

For Further Reading. — Hayes, II, Chap. XXIII, 2. On ecclesiastical history read MacCaffrey, I, Chap. XVIII. The article on *Italy* in the Catholic Encyclopedia contains clear and reliable information.

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[1] In recent years many Catholic writers, especially in Italy, have advocated a solution of the Roman Question without restoration of the papal territory. According to their view the independence of the Holy See would be sufficiently safeguarded if it were guaranteed by international law and not merely by an act of the Italian parliament. The pope himself is of course the sole judge of what constitutes an effectual protection of his position as head of the Universal Church. So far the Holy See has not expressed its view on the matter.

CHAPTER LIX

AUSTRIA–HUNGARY

793. After the revolution of 1848 (§ 682) a reaction set in against the democratic and revolutionary tendencies of the age. This reaction lasted until 1859, the year of the unfortunate Italian war with Napoleon III (§ 679). The social reforms, the abolition of the feudal burdens of the peasantry and of the privileges of the nobility were *not* undone, but a determined effort was made to curtail local government and to centralize all political power in the government at Vienna. Especially between 1850 and 1860 the young Emperor Francis Joseph and his leading statesmen seemed to know only one remedy of the many ills of the Danubian monarchy, to restrict as far as possible the rights of the various nationalities. The government made itself especially odious by its *attacks upon the various languages of Austria-Hungary* and its attempts to *Germanize* the schools, the press, and the courts.

When, however, the defeat of 1859 revealed widespread dissatisfaction, particularly among the Bohemians and Hungarians, the emperor awoke to the necessity of conciliating these provinces. Liberal reforms were begun, and a sort of parliamentary system of government was adopted. But Hungary remained sullen, and after the next Austrian defeat at Sadowa (§ 706) it became necessary to satisfy that country at any cost. The emperor and Francis Deák, the Hungarian leader, arranged a *compact* (1867), which was then ratified by the Hungarian and Austrian parliaments. This compact formed, until recently, the constitution of Austria-Hungary.

REFERENCE
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Magyars-Hungary
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians
Roumanians
GERMANY
RUSSIA
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
(Czechs)
MORAVIA
Prague
Pilsen
Iglau
Olmutz
Brünn
Budweis
Troppau
Krakow
(Poles)
GALICIA
(Ruthenians)
BAVARIA
LOWER
AUSTRIA
(Germans)
UPPER
VIENNA
(Slovaks)
Kashau
Salzburg
Neustadt
Komorn
Gran
Raab
BUDAPEST
Erlau
Tokay
Czernowitz
BUKOWINA
Innsbruck
SALZBURG
TYROL
STYRIA
Grätz
CARINTHIA
HUNGARY
(Magyars)
(Roumanians)
Klausenburg
TRANSYLVANIA
Trent
TYROL
(Italians)
Laibach
(Slovenes)
CARNIOLA
Drave
Agram
Triester
Karlstadt
SLAVONIA
Venice
Istria
CROATIA
Save
Kronstadt
Versecz
Pancsova
BELGRADE
ROUMANIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
(Serbs)
DALMATIA
Zara
Florence
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
HERZEGOVINA
MONTENEGRO
Ragusa
Rhine
Po
Danube
Theiss
Pruth
Dniester
Vistula
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE IN PART
THE DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
L. L. POATES, ENG., N.Y.

794. Austria-Hungary thereby became a dual monarchy, a federation of two states. Each state had its own constitution, its own parliament, its own system of law and local government. The two had the same monarch, who was emperor in Austria and king in Hungary, and whose powers differed in the two states. Moreover, each state had its own ministry, but there was a common minister of war, of finance, and of foreign relations. There was a common army, but besides this each state maintained a kind of territorial reserve (the Landwehr in Austria and the Honved in Hungary). There was a curious kind of common parliament, the *Delegations*. In reality this consisted of two committees, each comprising sixty members, the one chosen by the Austrian parliament, the other by the Hungarian. They met one year at Vienna, the next at Budapest. If the two bodies disagreed, equal numbers from the two met and settled the matter by vote, without debate. The chief purpose of these Delegations was to supervise and control the work of three common ministers.

795. The Race Question. — Austria has been rightly described as a "tangle of races and a Babel of tongues." Eleven different languages, besides numerous dialects, were spoken within her boundaries. At the opening of the Austrian parliament the official oath was administered in eight languages. Nearly half the population were Slavs, broken up, however, into many branches, *Czechs*, *Croats*, *Serbs*, *Slavonians*, *Poles*, *Ruthenians*. A fourth was *German*, a fifth *Magyar*, and the rest were *Italians*, *Roumanians*, and others. If we regard the Slav subdivisions, the Germans were more numerous than any other people. They numbered eleven and a third millions. The Magyars came next with nine millions. Of the Slavs, the Czechs (Bohemians) led with nearly six millions.

After the compact of 1867 the Germans were the ruling race in the Austrian half of the dual monarchy. Though they were inferior to the Slavs in numbers, they controlled the parliament.

The unequally distributed franchise gave them an unduly large representation, and quarrels weakened their Slavic opponents. In spite of the confusion in the demands of the various parties, two distinct political tendencies appeared with sufficient clearness, one making for greater centralization of power in the government at Vienna, the other advocating a reorganization of Austria after the model of the compact with Hungary. The former was the favorite program of the Germans and the smaller Slavic races, while the latter was the ideal of the larger Slav peoples, especially the Czechs and the Poles. The Emperor Francis wavered between these two extremes, and thus the politics of Austria presented the spectacle of great instability and confusion. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the parties striving for greater independence from Vienna were constantly gaining ground. The Czechs of Bohemia especially were growing rapidly in political strength. They were as prosperous and cultured as the German provinces, and demanded, if not complete separation from the Hapsburgs, at least a position in the Empire similar to that of the Hungarians. But in this they were vehemently opposed by the German inhabitants of Bohemia, who formed about one third of the population of that province. This faction was warmly supported in its opposition by the Germans in the other Austrian provinces, and even by its kinsmen in the German Empire. These were unwilling to abandon their fellow-Germans in Bohemia to Czech rule. Many attempts were made by the Vienna government to meet the wishes of one party or the other, but no satisfactory solution was found for the racial problem in Bohemia. On the contrary, every measure of the government provoked fierce hostility on the part of the less favored race. In revenge, the slighted party usually resorted to obstruction in parliament. Violent scenes in that body were of frequent occurrence, and many sessions ended without having accomplished anything. In 1907 full and equal man-

hood suffrage for all local and parliamentary elections was introduced. The Czechs thereby gained considerably, and the Germans in Bohemia became so intimidated that some of them openly expressed a desire for annexation to the German Empire.

796. In Hungary similar difficulties existed between the ruling Magyar race and the scattered Slavic peoples. Until the outbreak of the Great War, however, the Magyars were more successful in maintaining their ascendency than the Germans in Austria. The Croatians alone were allowed certain privileges; elsewhere in Hungary the Magyars, despite violent protests, slowly but effectively imposed their language and law upon the various Slav fragments. Representation in the legislature at Budapest was so apportioned as to give the vast majority of the seats of Magyar constituencies, though the other races made up half the population. Universal manhood suffrage was never adopted. That reform, together with greater safeguards for the language and customs of the non-Magyar elements, formed the chief desires of the Hungarian Slavs. As even influential Magyar leaders began to recognize the justice of these claims, there appeared some hope for a better understanding in the future. But the Great War and its disastrous results for the Hapsburg monarchy has taken the task of solving these racial problems out of the hands of Austrian statesmen.

797. The future of the peoples included in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy is more uncertain than that of any other people. The problem of arriving at a satisfactory settlement is bristling with difficulties. Nowhere are the demands of the various races and parties more irreconcilable. In the past they often threatened the very existence of the state. Still, acute observers have often declared that some kind of union among the various races in this "whirlpool of Europe" is a political necessity for themselves and for Europe in general, and that a

complete dissolution would lead to endless strife. A division of the territory according to the races inhabiting it seems well-nigh impossible. *These races everywhere overlap, and natural boundaries, like rivers and mountains, fail in most cases to divide one people from the other.* Hence interminable boundary disputes and petty wars will probably be the result of any attempt at complete separation. This will undoubtedly retard the economic and cultural progress of the peoples involved. Moreover, we must not overlook the bond of a common religion, for of the fifty million inhabitants of the former Hapsburg monarchy over thirty-six millions are members of the Catholic Church. The rest are divided among Protestant sects and the Greek schismatic church, or are Jews or Mohammedans. In some cases, notably with the Slavs in Hungary, difference in religion separates them from their kinsmen of the neighboring states. The true solution of these problems requires a keen regard for the political and economic needs as well as for differences in language and racial peculiarities.

798. In foreign policy Austria, since 1866, was entirely excluded from Italy and Germany. She turned, therefore, toward her neighbors in the south. At first, markets in the Balkan territory and the exploitation of these hitherto undeveloped regions were the chief objects of Austrian statesmen. But a complicated situation arose after the formation of the independent Balkan states, partly inhabited by people similar in race and language to those that formed such a considerable portion of the subjects of Austria-Hungary. We shall have to study this question later, in connection with the Near Eastern problem (§ 848).

For Further Reading. — See the general histories of Hayes or Hazen. If the Cambridge Modern History is accessible to the students, they may read with profit Vol. XII, Chap. VII.

CHAPTER LX

THE SMALLER STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE[1]

799. Besides the great states, the usual map of Europe shows fourteen[2] small states. All these, except Switzerland and Portugal, are constitutional monarchies. Six — the Slav and Greek states — are in the southeast of Europe in the Balkan region. The other eight belong to western Europe and claim a brief notice at this point.

Of these small states of western Europe, two are in the south, in the Iberian Peninsula, three are in the north, in the Scandinavian peninsulas; two lie at the mouth of the Rhine, and the remaining one at its source. Four of the eight — Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland — formerly ranked as Great Powers.

A. Spain

800. From 1800 to 1833. — We saw how Napoleon broke into Spain, overthrew the old monarchy, and imposed upon the Spaniards a foreign ruler, his own brother Joseph (§ 602). The Spanish people, however, would not brook this humiliation. Aided by the English under Wellington, they fought a war of independence (1809–1813), resulting in the downfall of the Bonaparte régime. But while they were shedding their blood in defense of their faith, their country, and their legitimate

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[1] It is suggested that, if time presses, this chapter be merely read, and talked over, without much attempt to fix details.

[2] There are also four or five others, like the little republic of San Marino in the Apennines, so small that few maps take notice of them.

king, the Liberals, that is, those politicians who were infected with the ideas of the French Revolution, *drew up a constitution* (1812), resembling in many points the French constitution of 1791. This constitution was far from embodying the wishes of the majority of Spaniards. When King Ferdinand VII returned after the fall of Napoleon he rejected it, but in 1820 a revolt in the army forced him to accept it. The Holy Alliance, however, determined to wipe away every vestige of the Revolution, interfered in Spain, and the constitution was again abolished (1823). The king now, by relentless persecution, took revenge on the "Constitutionists," as the Spanish Liberals were called. Although public sentiment condemned the Constitution of 1812, its rejection failed to establish peace. The defeated Liberals continued to plot in the dark against the government, until their chance came for open revolution. It so happened, too, that the *revolutionary movement became intertwined with the question of succession to the throne.*

801. From 1833 to 1873. — According to the Spanish law Ferdinand's successor, as he had no son, was to be his brother, *Don Carlos.* But the king, under the influence of his ambitious wife, *Christina,* arbitrarily changed the law of succession and willed the crown to his daughter *Isabella.* At his death (1833) Isabella was a child of three years. During the minority of the queen the regency was to be in the hands of her mother Christina. The Catholics and all opponents of the Constitution of 1812 rallied around Don Carlos ("Charles V"), while the regent allied herself with the Liberals. A seven years' war (1833–1839) was waged between the "*Carlistas*" and the "*Christinos,*" marked by great bitterness and frightful deeds of cruelty on both sides. Gradually the Christinos became masters of the situation. Don Carlos left Spain, and the northern provinces, the strongholds of the Carlists, came to an understanding with the regent.

Meantime, however, the Liberals themselves had split into

parties, the *Moderates* and the *Radicals*. Both were hostile to the Catholic Church, showing themselves on this point true disciples of the French models, but utterly at variance with the vast majority of their own countrymen. In 1840 the Radicals got control, deposed Christina, and put in her place one of their leaders, General Espartero. Then came a period of military insurrections on the part of rival generals, after the fashion of the South American republics. Usually the rebels succeeded for the time. There was not much bloodshed, so that a writer wittily remarked, "Revolution in Spain has become a fine art." Confiscation of church property and its public sale, interrupted by more atrocious acts, such as the burning of monasteries and the slaying of their inmates, became the program of these Spanish Jacobins. The peace-loving element was weakened by divisions in its own ranks, — chiefly through the question of succession and of a new constitution.

The young queen Isabella had in the meantime been declared of age, and, under the Moderate ministry of Narvaez, the country enjoyed a spell of tranquillity. A concordat, regulating ecclesiastical affairs, was concluded with the Holy See in 1851. But seventeen years later a new revolution deposed the Bourbon dynasty in the person of queen Isabella. The Spaniards cast about for a new ruler. Leopold of Hohenzollern at first accepted the candidature, but soon withdrew on account of the protest of the French government (§ 710). Prince Amadeo of Savoy was elected, but finding it impossible to conciliate the warring factions, he abdicated.

802. Then, in 1873, the Cortes, made up chiefly of Liberals, declared the Republic. During its two years' life it had four presidents. The Carlists arose anew, in favor of Don Carlos' son. They gained substantial successes, but the aristocracy and the financial interests effected a restoration of the female line of the Bourbons, and the crown was bestowed on Isabella's son, Alfonso XII. He landed in Spain in 1875. The Carlists

were soon suppressed. The leaders of the Moderates and of those Liberals who were willing to support the government came to an agreement. One result of this is a curious arrangement, according to which the leaders of the parties supporting the government take turns in filling the ministerial posts. Alfonso XII died in 1885 and was followed by his posthumous son, Alfonso XIII, the present (1919) ruler of Spain.

803. The present government of Spain is regulated by the constitution of 1876. Although Spain is the result of a coalition of several states (Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Leon, etc.) the old historical states have been wiped out. Their place is taken by forty-nine provinces, which correspond to the French departments. Likewise in imitation of France, the government is strictly centralized. The executive is vested in the king and a responsible ministry. The Legislature — the Cortes — consists of two Houses, a Senate made up partly of life members, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal manhood suffrage, for a term of five years. Local government is more developed than in France, each province and commune having its own elected assembly and even, except in some large towns, its elected executive. These local bodies are dependent on the central government, but in practice there is little interference.

The political parties of Spain may be divided into three groups. The *Right*, or the old Carlists, are the defenders of old Spanish traditions and determined opponents of Liberalism. Since they do not support the present ruling dynasty but merely tolerate it, they are never represented in the ministry. The so-called *Loyal* parties take their turn in office. One of them, the Liberal-Conservatives, for many years under their able leader Antonio Maura, are sincere Catholics who work for reform under the present dynasty, while the rest of the practical Catholics have cast their lot with the Right. Another Loyalist party, the Liberal Democrats, takes its cue from modern France, aims at destroying the influence of the Church on education

and opposes in general the union of Church and State. The *Left*, finally, consists of Republicans and Socialists of all shades. Their aims have been clearly manifested in the hideous riots of 1909 in Barcelona, where they murdered persons consecrated to God and burned schools and monasteries. One of their leaders, Francesco Ferrer, was seized and shot by the government, whereupon hysterical sympathizers in Europe and America proclaimed him a " martyr of liberty."

804. Recent Progress. — Until 1881 the energies of the nation were wasted in constant revolutionary disorders. Then there followed a period of comparative tranquillity, during which Spain grew in wealth. Taxation was reformed and various industries were encouraged. As a result trade has mounted, manufactures have developed, railroads and telegraphs have tripled. Population increased from fifteen millions in 1857 to nearly twenty millions in 1910. Above all, peasant landowners began to increase rapidly. Modern Spain is far from being a dying nation, as prejudiced writers sometimes try to make us believe. She is a reviving nation. The increase in prosperity, too, seems to have calmed the revolutionary fever, for revolutions would be too costly. Still the outlook is not entirely reassuring. A certain amount of ill feeling between the different provinces still survives the former civil strife. Recently, too, socialistic and anarchic tendencies have grown alarmingly. It must be admitted that there are reasons for the workmen to rail at the wealthier classes. There are among them numerous representatives of an older order of things who have not as yet realized their responsibilities toward the dependent classes. But this does not fully explain the increasing unrest. Its causes lie deeper, — in the spread of irreligion.

805. Religion and Education. — The religion of the Spanish people is Catholic. According to the constitution it is the religion of the state and as such the only religion which is officially recognized. In practice, however, there is a great deal

of religious freedom. Non-Catholics may erect their own buildings for worship, provided they avoid externally certain characteristics of Catholic churches. Civil marriage exists for non-Catholics. Freedom of the press has been so liberally granted and so extensively abused that many ascribe to it the growing religious indifference of the city population.

By character and tradition the Spaniards are passionately attached to the Catholic Church. The age-long struggle against the Mohammedans for religious and national unity has left its impress upon the Spanish character. The constant attempts of the Moors and Jews (§ 318) to undermine religion and nationality made Spaniards extremely sensitive to the purity of their faith and to all movements endangering its unity. In the nineteenth century, however, owing to the disunion among the Catholics and the systematic work of a few determined infidels and Freemasons, the machinery of government has generally been in the hands of anti-Catholics. This and the activity of the irreligious press have been the most important factors in strengthening the influence of infidelity.

The effects of these causes have been most conspicuous in the field of education and legislation. The aims of the Spanish anti-Catholics may be summarized under two heads, (1) complete separation of Church and State after the example of France, (2) the exclusion of religion from the schools. The first aim has not yet been achieved, but in the field of education the enemies of religion have scored notable successes. The government has established a complete system of state schools from which religious orders, who formerly had entire control of education, have been excluded. Though these schools are not officially hostile to religion, they are often so in practice. Besides these state schools there is still a large number of flourishing Catholic private schools, and the real wishes of the Spanish people appear from the fact that fully two thirds of the pupils prefer them to the government institutions. The

struggle between the forces of irreligion and the Catholic Church is still being waged with great bitterness.

806. The Social Question. — In the second half of the nineteenth century the rapid spread of Socialism and Anarchism among the working classes induced the Catholics to devote themselves energetically to the social problem. Numerous workingmen's associations, savings banks, and farmers' unions under Catholic auspices testify to the earnestness with which Catholic Spain has undertaken the solution of the most pressing of modern problems. Charity, always a beautiful characteristic of Spain, is flourishing more than ever. The state, on account of its perpetual financial embarrassments, has done less than in many other countries; but private enterprise and genuine Christian charity have worked wonders in relieving distress and misery of every kind. This enlightened and well-organized activity is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of Spain.

807. Loss of Colonies. — In 1898 Spain ceased to be a colonial power on a large scale. We have seen how, between 1810 and 1830, she lost her vast colonial possessions in South and Central America (§ 628). There were still left to her Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. A long rebellion in Cuba, often aided and abetted by private American interests, brought about the interference of the United States. The Spanish American War of 1898 resulted in the surrender of all the remaining Spanish colonies, except a few neighboring islands and some unimportant districts in northwest Africa. While Spain has thereby lost her influence in international affairs she has not suffered financially. The colonies had long ceased to be a source of revenue to the mother country. The constant revolutions and the consequent drain upon the resources of Spain rather added to the enormous debt under which that country is groaning. Now that Spain is rid of all responsibility for her unruly foreign dependencies she may spend her money more profitably at home. But to achieve real improve-

ment at home she has to purify her administrative bodies, for under the Liberal and Radical régime corruption in the highest quarters has too often disgraced Spanish politics.

B. Portugal

808. Historical Survey. — When Napoleon I seized Portugal (1807) the royal family of Braganza fled to Brazil, then a Portuguese colony. After the expulsion of the French by Wellington, the English, in the absence of the king, practically ruled the country and continued to do so even after the overthrow of Napoleon. But the English representative, *Lord Beresford*, made himself so hated by his harsh and arbitrary rule that, in 1820, a revolution broke out, organized chiefly by sympathizers with the ideas of the French Revolution. They recalled King John from Brazil. The king returned, leaving his son Pedro [1] to rule Brazil. The Radicals had in the meantime drawn up a constitution after the model of the Spanish constitution of 1812, and forced the king to accept it. The Brazilians were so indignant at this action of the Radicals and the weakness of the king that they declared their independence.

For many years Portugal was distracted by revolutions and by civil wars between various claimants of the crown. As in Spain, one side stood for reaction, the other for radical reform in Church and State. Since the latter party was controlled chiefly by Freemasons and followers of Rousseau, the better section of the Catholics largely threw in their lot with the former. But the radical element gradually prevailed, and then carried out its usual program of persecution, confiscation of church property, expulsion of religious orders, and complete subjection

[1] Brazil was an independent empire until 1889. In that year Pedro II (1831–1889) was forced to abdicate. The Brazilians then proclaimed the Republic. Pedro II's empire was the last monarchy on the American continent.

of the priests and bishops to the state. As a consequence a servile clergy gradually filled most of the important ecclesiastical offices. The religious instruction of the people was woefully neglected, while the ranks of the Socialists and Anarchists were swelled by fallen-away Catholics. In the second half of the nineteenth century conditions improved somewhat, and, chiefly through the efforts of Pope Leo XIII, some measure of justice was meted out to the Church.

But suddenly things changed for the worse. In 1908 King Carlos and his oldest son were murdered in the streets of Lisbon by the agents of an organized conspiracy. The succession to the throne devolved upon his second son, Manuel, who, however, after a brief reign was overthrown by a new revolution in 1910. The successful conspirators *proclaimed the Republic.*

809. Conditions and Problems. — The Republic at once set on foot a barbarous persecution of the Church. The whole educational system was remodeled after the example of the recent French legislation on that subject (§ 767). No sign of religion was tolerated in the schools. Important social and charitable works were destroyed if they were even remotely connected with the Church. The wide apathy and religious ignorance of the masses made the success of these Portuguese Jacobins possible, but the Republic is by no means securely established. The material prosperity with which the Radicals deluded the masses has failed to appear under the republican régime. Hence discontent is growing among the working classes. In spite of the extensive robbery of church property, the national finances are in a deplorable condition. Lack of employment, low wages, and socialistic agitation have caused distress, frequent strikes, and riots. Compulsory education exists, but in practice the poverty of the schools and of the people is so great that very few attend schools. Three fourths of the nation are still illiterate.

The Portuguese colonies are still of considerable size (in the

Cape Verde Islands, in Africa, and in India), but they do not pay expenses, and it is doubtful whether so poor a country can afford to keep them. Their administration, too, is inefficient and corrupt. The shortsighted anti-Catholic policy of the new republican government drove many missionaries out of the colonies, though they were there the mainstay of progress and civilization.

C. Belgium

810. The constitution of Belgium is still that of 1831, when the little country gained its independence (§ 642). The Legislature consists of two Houses, Senate and Deputies. The king is no mere figurehead, but, through his extensive nominating power, exerts considerable influence. The Belgians chose for their sovereign Leopold, a Protestant German prince. He understood his people and never interfered with their rights. His successor, the Catholic Leopold II, was a shrewd business man who did much to promote the industrial growth of Belgium. The present king, Albert, is an excellent constitutional monarch.

In 1831 the franchise rested upon the payment of a considerable tax. When the revolution of 1848 was radically changing so many governments, Belgium made merely a slight reduction in the qualification for voting. For nearly fifty years there was no further change; but meanwhile great city populations were growing up, with masses of artisans who had no votes. In the eighties only one man in ten could vote. Agitation began for further extension of the franchise. The proposal to that effect secured little support in parliament, and bill after bill was voted down. The agitation grew more intense, chiefly on the part of the Socialists. The Catholic party, then in power, brought about a revision of the constitution. In 1893 universal manhood suffrage was adopted, modified, however, by a *system of plural voting*. Each man at the age of twenty-five gets one vote; two votes are given to

each man who is over thirty-five years old, if he possesses a certain amount of wealth, or if he is the head of a family with children; and three votes are granted to those who possess certain university degrees or who have held certain important public offices.

811. Parties and Disputes. — The population of Belgium is almost entirely Catholic. But, as everywhere, there are many among the Catholics who are such in name only. These "*Liberals*" at the time of the struggle for independence against Holland united with the loyal Catholics in defense of their common cause. After independence was won the Liberals, for the next fifty years, were nearly always in control of the government. They recruited themselves chiefly from the wealthier classes, and, since the franchise was restricted to those classes, their victory at the polls was comparatively an easy matter.

At first they were a moderate party, most of them sincerely wishing toleration and liberty for all. But gradually an extreme element within the party, consisting mainly of Freemasons, gained predominant influence over the party, and soon betrayed its true character by anti-Catholic legislation. *The chief object of their attacks was the school.* The Belgian school law of 1842 guaranteed the religious character of the primary schools, even of the state schools. And in most of these institutions teaching and teachers were thoroughly Catholic. By various measures the influence of religion upon the young was to be imperceptibly diminished. For a long time Catholic resistance was weak and poorly organized, and the Liberals grew bolder with every election. In 1879 a radical law barred all religious instruction from the state schools.

The Liberals had ventured too far. The unjust measure aroused the Catholics to the importance of religious education. Their enthusiasm worked wonders. In one year they erected over three thousand Catholic private schools, and the state

schools lost large numbers of their pupils. In some cases the schoolhouses were actually empty. The Freemasons were dumbfounded and enraged at such resistance; they tried every means to break the influence of the clergy upon the people. But in vain. In 1884 the country pronounced judgment upon the Liberal policy. In the parliamentary elections of that year the Liberals suffered an overwhelming defeat from which they never recovered. Only two Liberal candidates were returned to parliament. The Catholics assumed control in the parliament and the ministry and have held it ever since. The iniquitous school law was, of course, at once repealed. Otherwise, however, they wisely avoided going to extremes. "We shall surprise the world by our moderation," said one of their leaders. But they did much more.

They gave the country a government by capable and honest men, who energetically promoted the progress and prosperity of the land, undertook vast public improvements, and, in spite of it, made the burden of taxation so light that the administration of the little state has become a model for other and larger ones. Education, too, has correspondingly progressed. And while the opinions of others have been scrupulously respected, religious and Catholic education is amply provided for. The far-famed Catholic university of Louvain has given to the party in power splendid leaders, and to the country at large scholarly and practical men, capable of solving newly arising problems.

812. For many years Belgium has ranked among the leading industrial nations. In 1910 the population was seven and a half millions, more than double that of 1815. There are about 510 people to the square mile (which is more than sixteen times the relative population of the United States). These conditions have produced a certain amount of unrest among the masses. Socialism has found many adherents; irreligion and contempt of the laws of morality have grown, especially in the large cities. The enlightened statesmen at the helm have done much to

remedy the social evils. The extension of the franchise to all male citizens is their work. They have, moreover, enacted a series of excellent laws for the protection of the workingmen. Just before the Great War (1914) a complete reform of the school laws dealt in an admirable manner with the question of religious education, without hurting the feelings of others. When that wonderful little country, so ruthlessly dealt with by the invader, once more takes its place among the nations of Europe it will undoubtedly continue to be an example and inspiration to all men interested in the question of good government.

For Belgium's colonial enterprise see § 862.

D. Holland

813. Government. — The royal family of Holland belongs to the ancient House of Orange [1] (§ 401) and the people are loyally devoted to it. The Upper House of the Estates General (the parliament keeps that ancient name) is chosen by the local legislature of the various provinces for nine years, one third going out each third year. This plan of partial removals of a branch of the legislature has been adopted in many countries, as in the Senate of the United States, but it seems to have originated in Holland some centuries ago. The House of Representatives (Lower House of the Estates General) is elected directly by the people, and it wields by far more power than the Upper House. Since 1896 about three fourths of the adult males have votes, nearly all except paupers, vagabonds, and unmarried sons in poor families. The monarch exercises power through ministers. Until recently the government has been of the Prussian rather than of the English type; but during the long minority of the girl-queen the ministries began

[1] The present sovereign is Queen Wilhelmina, who came to the throne in 1890 at ten years of age.

to be truly "responsible" to the parliament, of which they may be members.

814. The country is rich and prosperous. The population (six millions in 1910) in the last century has grown even faster than that of Belgium. Less than one third are Catholics, but there is complete religious freedom. The colonial empire, despite great losses in the Napoleonic wars, is still vast and productive. It comprises the *Dutch East Indies*, that is, the islands of Sumatra, Java, part of Celebes and of Borneo, the Moluccas, and the *Dutch West Indies*, that is, Dutch Guiana in South America.

E. The Swiss Republic

815. The Congress of Vienna restored all territory lost during the Napoleonic wars, but left the Swiss cantons in a loose confederacy, not unlike that of the United States before 1789. The original "Forest Cantons" were pure democracies. They governed themselves (as some still do), not by elected representatives, but by *folkmoots*, — primary assemblies of all the voters who pass upon all laws directly, without the intervention of a legislature. On the other hand, in Bern, Zurich, and in some other rich "City Cantons" a few families had complete possession of the government, so that the rule was rather that of an hereditary oligarchy.

But in 1830, after the success of the French "July Revolution," popular risings established Liberal local constitutions in those city cantons. Political power in most cases, however, fell into the hands of an extreme Radical party.

816. The next change grew out of religious strife. The Radical party that had gained control over the city cantons was anti-Catholic, while the old democratic cantons were stanchly Catholic. Wherever the Radical party was in control it initiated remorseless warfare against the clergy, the monasteries, and ecclesiastical rights. In a conference in 1834

the Radicals openly avowed their intention to fetter the Church in the whole country. A new federal constitution was to give them the legal power to interfere in the purely Catholic cantons.

The struggle was especially bitter in the canton of Aargau. There the Radicals came into power in 1840. In spite of the protests of the people they suppressed the monasteries (1841), though their existence was guaranteed by the old constitution.

A Typical Alpine Town.

In the meantime in the neighboring canton of Luzern the conservative and Catholic party gained the upper hand in the elections. To overthrow their administration, Aargau and Bern organized armed raids, but the people of Luzern routed the raiders. This defeat, however, did not end the attacks upon the Catholic cantons. Hence, in order to protect themselves and their religious liberty seven Catholic cantons formed a league among themselves — the *Sonderbund*.

817. The Sonderbund War. — In 1847 the Federal Diet, now controlled by the Radicals, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve.

The seven cantons refused and withdrew their delegates from the Diet, and *civil war began*, — seven cantons against fifteen. Help from Austria, on which the Sonderbund relied, was not forthcoming. Their opponents, encouraged by England, acted with great rapidity and decision. In less than three weeks the Sonderbund was crushed, and this without much bloodshed. Then the victors put a heavy indemnity on the vanquished, expelled the Jesuits from the Catholic cantons and suppressed about fifty monasteries. Moreover, they remodeled the constitutions of the seven cantons in such a manner as to put the power into the hands of the Radicals. Then they proceeded to revise the national constitution.

818. By the new constitution of 1848, which — with slight amendments — is that of to-day, the Confederacy became a *Federal Republic*, after the model of the United States. The *Federal Assembly* (national legislature) has two Houses: the *Council of the States* (Ständerath) and the *National Council*. The first consists of two delegates from each of the twenty-two cantons (cantons in the federal scheme correspond very closely to the American States). These forty-four deputies are chosen either by the cantonal legislatures or by the people directly. Their term of office, too, is determined by the respective cantons. This Council of States represents the principle of state rights, and, in form, is a survival of the old Diet.

The other provisions of the constitution are new and tend toward nationalism. The Lower House of the legislature, the National Council, represents the people. The members are elected in single districts, like our own Representatives, for a term of three years. The franchise is given to all adult males of over twenty years of age.

The *national executive* is not a single president, but a committee of seven (the Federal Council) whose members are chosen by the Federal Assembly in joint session. One of the seven, especially named for the purpose, is President of the Council;

but he possesses little more authority than the other six. Each of the seven members is head of a department, that of foreign affairs being always reserved to the president. Although they cannot be members of the legislature (as in England), they take part in its sessions and exert a great influence on its proceedings. The president serves only one year, but after that he usually remains a member of the Federal Council. In fact, it is custom to reëlect all the members continually for a long period of time.

There is also a *Federal Judiciary*, chosen by the Federal Assembly; but it lacks the power of our American Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional: it is bound to accept as valid all acts of the legislature.

Each canton, like each of our own States, has its own constitution and government, all of them democratic in character. In a few small cantons the old folkmoot, or primary assembly, is still preserved; in the others the legislature consists of one chamber, chosen by manhood suffrage. In all there are executive councils.

819. Direct Legislation. — As a rule, even in modern democratic countries, the people govern themselves only *indirectly*. They choose representatives (legislators and governors), and these few delegated individuals attend directly to all matters of government. Writers on democratic government, however, frequently demand that some way be found for the people themselves to take a direct part in law-making; and Switzerland was the first country to show how this may be done. The two Swiss devices for this end are known as the *referendum* and the popular *initiative*.

The referendum is the older. It consists merely in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice really originated in America. The State of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and 1780, and there were a few other applications of this principle in America at about the same time. The

French Revolution did the same with its constitutions, and the plebiscites of the two Napoleons were in principle such a referendum. In America, after 1820, nearly all our States used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions or amendments; and sometimes other important measures are submitted to popular decision, both in city and state government.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the constitution of 1848 all constitutional amendments, cantonal and national, must be submitted to popular vote, and in some cantons this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws. By an amendment of 1874 a certain number of voters, by petition, may require the submission of any federal law to popular vote.[1] This last provision is known as the optional referendum, and it has been in use in cantonal legislation for the greater part of the nineteenth century.

The popular initiative is a purely Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill, or even an amendment to the constitution, and to submit it to a popular vote. A little before 1848 this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. Four cantons had already made use of it, and the new constitution of 1848 required all cantons to permit it in constitutional amendments, if a majority of voters so petitioned.

The cantons themselves rapidly adopted more generous measures than this; and, by 1870, in nearly all of them a small number of voters could put any law they desired before the voters. In 1891, by amendment, this principle was adopted for the national government. A petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote. Thus the people can act directly, without the

[1] Between 1874 and 1906 twenty-nine federal laws were thus submitted to popular vote, and in nineteen cases the decision of the people went against the legislature.

intervention of the legislature. They can frame bills by initiative and reject or adopt those passed by the legislature. These devices and their practical working have excited a great deal of interest in other countries. Recently many of the more progressive States of the American Union have introduced them and carried them even further than the Swiss people. So far, however, we have not applied them to national issues. It is objected that the facility of changing the constitution would introduce an element of instability into our national life, which, in time, would only work to the detriment of the people. The initiative and the referendum work satisfactorily in Switzerland, but then the problems of a small country are relatively simple, and are easily grasped by an intelligent people. The Swiss, moreover, have had centuries of experience in independent government, and tradition has taught them valuable lessons, which make them naturally a cautious and conservative people.

820. Switzerland fills a far larger place in history and human interest than her territory fills on the map. Since 1848 the people have been more closely united than before; and in political contests the defeated parties have ceased to look across the boundaries for allies.

In the last half-century Switzerland has made amazing progress industrially and commercially, though the natural resources of the country are extremely small. To-day she is one of the most progressive countries in the world. The primary schools are perhaps the best in Europe; few other nations have so little illiteracy. Wealth and comfort are more evenly diffused than elsewhere. The population increases steadily, and numbers about three and two thirds millions. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than anywhere else in Europe.

Two thirds of the people speak German; the rest chiefly French and Italian, but French and Italian, as well as German, are official languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. Race feeling, which else-

where threatens to disintegrate nations, works no harm in Switzerland and has practically no influence on political controversies. Switzerland thus furnishes a practical proof that a well-organized and happy commonwealth is possible without unity of race or language. The Swiss are intensely patriotic, while at the same time they have, through their sincere impartiality, gained the respect and good will of their powerful neighbors. Says President Lowell, of Harvard, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

F. Denmark

821. To 1866. — In the later Middle Ages, Denmark was an elective monarchy distracted by feudal anarchy. In 1660, after a shameful defeat by Sweden, it became an hereditary and absolute monarchy. In 1848 the king felt obliged to grant a paper constitution; but not until after the defeat[1] of 1864 did Denmark begin to have any real constitutional development. A Democratic party ("Friends of the Peasants") then began to demand reform, and, after two years of clamor, a constitution was established.

822. This constitution of 1866 promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a Diet (Rigsdag) of two Houses. The Landthing, or upper House, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly of members elected on a very high property basis. The Folkthing, or lower House, is elected by manhood suffrage. All self-supporting men, thirty years of age, can vote. In 1901, after a thirty-years' contest, ministries were made responsible to the Representatives.

823. Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and

[1] Compare with the case of Austria after 1866, and France after 1870.

ignorant. Agriculture was backward. The defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state disrupted and impoverished. Its people were forced to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 15,000 square miles with two and three quarter millions of people. That is, it has more people than Indiana, in less than half the territory. More than a third of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give special " short courses " in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial; even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not merely how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. But they have taught the Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation, and to-day Denmark is one of the most progressive and prosperous farming countries in the world.

Local coöperative societies are found in almost every distinct line of farm industry, — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing of eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in loaning one another money (farm credits), and so on. The local societies are federated into national organizations. The central society that markets eggs and dairy products has an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owns its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals. Little Denmark supplies England's forty millions with a large part of their eggs, bacon, and butter, — $10,000,000 worth, $32,000,000 worth, and $50,000,000 worth, respectively, in 1911.

The coöperative movement in agriculture is found also, in only a slightly smaller degree, in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, — all the other small states of Northern Europe.

G. Norway

824. The Union with Sweden. — The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (§ 615), to reward that country for services against Napoleon. But the Norwegian people declined to be bartered from one ruler to another without their own consent. A Diet assembled

A Fjord in Norway. — Sogudal.

at *Eidvold* declared Norway a sovereign state, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected a king (*May* 17, 1814). Sweden, backed by the Powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but finally a compromise was arranged. The king abdicated, and the Diet elected the Swedish king as King of Norway, *on condition that he should recognize the new Norwegian constitution.*

Thus Norway and Sweden became a dual monarchy. The union was looser, however, than that of Austria-Hungary. The two countries had the same king, but they had no common ministry and nothing to correspond to the Austrian Delega-

tions. Each kingdom kept its own constitution and its own legislature. The arrangement lasted almost a century.

825. Struggle for Self-government. — In 1814 the Norwegian legislature (Storthing) was chosen on the basis of a low property qualification, and in 1884 manhood suffrage was adopted. The Storthing assembles as one House, but divides itself for most purposes into two chambers. The king of the dual state could not dissolve it, and *a bill became law in spite of his veto, if passed in three successive annual sessions.* In the early part of the century the Storthing succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king.

The chief interest in Norwegian politics in the nineteenth century lay in the agitation for a greater amount of self-government. Except for one period of about thirty years in the middle of the century, the contest was incessant, and after 1872 it grew bitter.

In 1872–1874 the Storthing passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted. King Oscar II [1] declared truly that this was an amendment to the constitution, and therefore a change in the compact between the two countries. In such a case, he urged, the rule limiting his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. The Storthing impeached the ministers. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, and the king yielded.

826. Independence. — By this success the real executive, for all *internal* affairs, became Norwegian, not Swede. The Stor-

[1] Oscar II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, just before the Norwegian national movement became violent; and his moderation and fairness had much to do with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century. Foreign nations paid a deserved tribute to his ability and fairness, by requesting him frequently to act as arbitrator in international disputes. The United States was interested in some of these arbitrations.

thing passed at once to a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls, separate from the Swedish service. This demand also seemed to the king to involve a change in the constitution, — which put the regulation of *foreign* affairs into his hands, — and the Swedish party exclaimed that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries.

The struggle waxed vehement. In the course of the contest the Norwegians removed the symbol of union from their flag (1886–1888), after passing the bill to that effect each year for three sessions, and both countries at times made preparations for war. Indeed, Norway erected a costly line of fortifications on the frontier toward Sweden.

In May, 1905, when once more a long negotiation for separate consular service had failed, the Storthing, *by unanimous vote*, provided by its own act for Norwegian consuls. This was virtual secession, and the king refused to recognize it. The Storthing then declared the union dissolved. The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war; but King Oscar was nobly resolute that his two peoples should not imbrue their hands in each other's blood. The Swedish labor-unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians declared in favor of independence in a great national referendum, by a vote of 368,000 to 184. Sweden bowed to the decision. *In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples a peaceful separation was arranged upon friendly terms.*

Thus Norway became an independent nation. A small party wished the new nation to become a republic; but, in a second referendum, a large majority declared for a monarchy and chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

827. Woman Suffrage. — In 1901 the Storthing gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. In 1907 the parliamentary

franchise was given to the same class of women. Thus, Norway was the first *sovereign nation* to give the full franchise to women. Women, too, sit in the Storthing. There is a strong demand for the extension of the franchise to *all* women on the same terms as men, — a demand certain to be granted in the near future.

828. Conditions. — Norway has two and a half millions of people; Sweden, more than twice as many. Sweden is also the richer country. The Norwegians, however, have the larger merchant navy, — more than four times as large as Sweden's, and the fourth in size in all Europe. This was one reason why, during the "Union," Norway felt it had a special interest in controlling the consular service.

Despite its poverty, Norway spends large sums on education. It has succeeded in building up one of the best primary school systems in Europe. A relatively large number of Norwegians leave their homes for foreign lands, where, on account of their good education, they are usually well qualified to compete with those of other nationalities.

In each of the three Scandinavian countries there still exists an official state church which has adopted the Lutheran creed. During the Reformation the Catholic religion was almost completely exterminated. But during the second half of the nineteenth century the old intolerance gradually disappeared. At present Catholics are not very numerous, but they are little hampered in the free exercise of their religion.

H. Sweden

829. Until after 1580 the Swedish Diet was made up, medieval fashion, of *four estates* — nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants. Such a body was only a slight check upon royal power. The king could play off one class against the other. In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two houses, but for nearly half a century more the franchise excluded a

large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower House of the parliament was given to all adult men *and women*.

For Further Reading. — On the small states of Europe there is abundant information to be found in Seignobos and other general histories mentioned in previous chapters. Of great value and authority are the respective articles in the Cath. Encycl., especially those on Spain and Belgium. An interesting little work on modern Switzerland is Virginia Crawford's *Switzerland of To-day*.

PART X. SLAV EUROPE

CHAPTER LXI

RUSSIA

A. Growth and Population

830. Growth. — Russia's destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army, in 1813, changed the fate of Europe and revealed her own tremendous power. The growth of this vast, aggressive, semi-Oriental state upon the edge of Western Europe created new problems for all "Western" peoples.

Church of the Archangel, Moscow.— With the tower of Ivan the Great and the Great Bell.

In the fifteenth century (§ 214), the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. Expansion, since then, has come partly by colonization, partly by war.

a. Until the time of Peter the Great, the advance was made almost wholly by the ceaseless movement of pioneers into the savage wilderness north and east. Like swarming hives, Russian villages along the frontier sent forward bands of

people, each band to advance a little way and form a new village, driving out or absorbing the Tartar barbarians. On the east much of the advance was made by another kind of frontiersmen, called Cossacks. The Cossacks lived partly by agriculture, partly by grazing, and often they waged war on their own account against Turks and Tartars, somewhat as our early American frontiersmen won Kentucky from the Indians and Texas from Mexico. As early as the time of Ivan the Terrible (§ 487) a Cossack horde seized part of Siberia.

b. The most important additions by war come under five heads:

(1) The Baltic Provinces from Sweden, by Peter the Great, about 1700 (§ 491).
(2) Poland, by Catherine II, 1772–1793 (§§ 505, 506).
(3) Finland from Sweden, in 1743 and 1814 (§§ 491, 615).
(4) The provinces along the Black Sea from Azof to the Danube, in a century of war against the Turks, — from 1772 to 1878.
(5) In Asia: (*a*) the occupation of Siberia at the expense of savage Tartar tribes (completed to the Pacific in the seventeenth century), and of Kamchatka in 1707; (*b*) a district of Asia Minor from the Caucasus to the Caspian, and the Trans-Caspian region — between the Caspian Sea and Persia — at the expense of Mohammedan principalities and of Turkey; and (*c*) recently, northwestern China, until checked by Japan.

Naturally Russia has sought outlets to the sea. She reached the frozen ocean of the north early. Peter the Great reached the Baltic. In war, however, the narrow outlets from that sea are easily closed by a hostile power, and hence Russia has been suspected of looking covetously towards the Atlantic ports of Sweden and Norway. Peter began a struggle also for the Black Sea, and Catherine II won those waters; but Constantinople closes the exit from them to the outer world. Russian ambition therefore has aimed, for over a century, at that ancient city, the former capital of the Greek faith. Until the

Great War (1914), England steadily opposed Russian advance in this direction.

In Asia, until recently, Russian advance has been steady and terrifying. In that continent Russia aimed at the Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south (besides the rich realms of central Asia and India). Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century she came into conflict with China on the extreme northwest. In 1858 she advanced to the Amur (seizing northern Manchuria). Two years later she secured Vladivostok, and so obtained a Pacific port ice-free for most of the year. In 1895 the great Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, and in 1902 the vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostok. This road is more than 5000 miles long, — nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the great steps in advance of civilization; and it has been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez or Panama canals. Meanwhile Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur (§ 866) and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port (1898).

On the south, just after the opening of the nineteenth century, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus. By the middle of the century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance toward India. In swift succession, heedless of England's threats, she secured Bokhara (1868), Khiva (1873), and Merv (1884), despite explicit pledges to England three years before.[1] In 1893 she reached the " roof of the world," the great Pamir plateau, and soon extended her military railroad to within seventy-five

[1] These Trans-Caspian districts are in the main rich and fertile, with valuable mines, and with a teeming, industrious population.

miles of Herat, the "key to India." Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in Central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the extreme east.

In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements, — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. She was still in a primitive stage industrially, and these useful projects were carried on largely by foreign workmen and foreign capital. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but in 1904 the arrogant folly of her military classes plunged her into a war with Japan as unjust as it proved ruinous. The story of this struggle is told in another place (§ 867). To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria.

831. Area and Population. — Including her Asiatic territory, Russia covers over eight and a half million square miles (between two and three times the area of the United States), or about one sixth the area of the habitable earth. In 1910 she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions,[1] of which all but about thirty millions live in Europe. The population is made up of some twenty different nationalities, but the great central core, comprising over two thirds of the whole, is composed of *Russian Slavs*. These true Russians differ again among themselves, being divided into Great Russians or Muscovites, Little Russians or Ukrainians (Ruthenians) living in the southwest, and White Russians in the west. The Cossacks are Little Russians. There has always been some racial feeling between the Great Russians and the Little Russian minority, and they

[1] This population is just about equal to the whole group of English-speaking peoples in the United States and the British Empire.

differ considerably in character and temperament. In modern times decrees against the use of the Ukrainian language (1876) helped only to emphasize these differences.

Besides these dominant peoples there are a number of *subject races*, forming a fringe about the center. Attempts to Russianize these peoples have been consistently made by the Russian government, especially in the nineteenth century. The largest of these subject nationalities are the *Poles* (twelve millions) and the *Finns* (over three and a half millions). In the Baltic provinces the *German* element is quite strong among the higher classes, while the *Lithuanians* are numerous in the western provinces. There are also about five million *Jews*, dispersed throughout the larger cities of the south and west, and about thirteen million Tartars; but these peoples are widely scattered and never formed a political unit, such as the Poles, Lithuanians, and Finns have done in the past.

The Jews are mostly emigrants from the former Kingdom of Poland, which they left to escape persecution. But in the last century, and even more recently, Russia frequently subjected them to stern measures and instigated popular prejudice against them. Several times they thus became, in bloody massacres, the victims of the fury of the mob. As a result, great numbers of them have been coming to the United States.

In religion there are almost as many differences as in race. The vast bulk of the Russian people belong to the Greek schismatic church (officially called the *Greek Orthodox Church*) and, until the recent revolution, looked upon the Tsar as their spiritual head. The Poles and the Lithuanians are Catholics. There is, too, a strong leaning to the Catholic Church among the people of the Ukraine, an inclination in the past checked only by the repressive measures of the Russian government. The Germans along the Baltic are Lutherans. There are, besides, about fifteen million Mohammedans living within the boundaries of Russia.

B. Economic and Social Movements

832. The Peasants. — The greatest event in Russian history between the reforms of Peter the Great and the recent revolution was the *emancipation of the serfs* by Alexander II, in 1861. The serfs numbered over forty-seven millions (nearly twelve times as many as the slaves who were freed in the United States at nearly the same time). They comprised four fifths of the population of European Russia. Not only were they freed from the jurisdiction of the nobles and from the obligation to work on the lord's estate, but they were also given land. They had always dwelt in little village communities; in 1861 each village, or mir, was left to manage its own local affairs and was given land for its support. The land, like the serf labor, was taken from the noble, but it was not confiscated: each mir was to pay an annual rent, fixed by the Tsar's commissioners, or to buy the land outright if it so preferred. If the mir wished to buy, the Tsar paid the landlords, and the mir undertook to repay the Tsar in small installments spread over forty-nine years. Most mirs adopted this plan.

833. Results. — Alexander and other well-meaning men hoped that marvelous improvements would follow the emancipation; but such hopes have not been realized during the two generations that have passed since that time. The great bulk of the peasants remain constantly near the starving point. This unfortunate condition has been in great measure due to the fact that the peasantry did not get enough land. The Tsar intended each village to receive at least as much land as the inhabitants had cultivated for their own support before the emancipation. But the nobles who carried out the details of the scheme managed to cut down the amount. They wished that thereafter, as formerly, the peasants should be forced to eke out their scanty income by tilling the land of the larger proprietors about them. Moreover, the taxes were excessive, so

that more than half the peasant's labor went to the tax collector. Nearly one third the entire peasant body, indeed, have been so impoverished that they have pledged their labor for one or more years in advance to neighboring landlords, and so have been forced back to a kind of temporary serfdom.

In addition, the government, until 1907, held the mir responsible as a unit for the annual rent or installment of the purchase price of the land, and for other taxes. Farming methods are antiquated and labor brings small returns. The artisan was not allowed to leave his village to seek opportunities in the cities, except under hampering restrictions; and as a rule agriculture is carried out carelessly and uneconomically by a communal system. The mir assembly each year or two redistributes its lands in strips among the families of the village.

In recent times attempts have been made to remedy these evils. In October, 1906, after a year of terrible anarchy, the Tsar by edict declared the communal system no longer binding. Freedom of movement was granted, some taxes were abolished, and a vast amount of government land, especially in Siberia, was offered to the peasantry, to be paid for on low terms in fifty annual installments. The outbreak of the Great War and the Russian Revolution of 1917 have of course upset all these plans and rendered the future extremely uncertain. It is certain that every true reformer of Russia has to take up the land problem, the most urgent of all the problems that await solution.

834. The Workingmen. — By about 1890 Russia began to feel the effects of the Industrial Revolution which had transformed England a century earlier. Moscow had been a "sacred city" of churches and monasteries, marked by lofty spires and gilded domes. It was now becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoke-hung chimneys. In other cities, especially in the Russian ports, the transformation was even more rapid. In such cities *Socialism* was gaining adherents among the new working class.

There are two distinct tendencies among the Russian Socialists. The larger body of them looks forward to reform by peaceful means, and in this respect resembles the Social-Democratic parties of other lands. A small but reckless part is made up of *Socialist-Revolutionists.* It is largely a *secret society.* It holds that violence is necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which crushes and chokes every attempt at peaceful reform. In these days of perfectly disciplined standing armies, equipped with modern machine guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain extinction in blood. So the revolutionists worked by the dagger and the dynamite bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The secret revolutionary society selected its victims with careful deliberation; and, when one had been killed, secretly posted placards proclaiming to the world the list of "crimes" for which he was "executed." Despite every precaution, the Revolutionists, this "*Underground Russia,*" as it has been aptly called, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated tools of the Tsar.

835. The Higher Classes: Slavophil Sentiment. — Besides the peasants, the rural population comprises a numerous nobility and other landed proprietors; and in the cities there are small professional and mercantile classes.

For two hundred years (since Peter the Great) these upper classes have had a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books and their ideas were imported from Paris. A little before the middle of the century, however, a reaction began in favor of native ideas and customs. This was the beginning of the *Slavophil movement.*

Notwithstanding their recent humiliation by Japan, the intellectual leaders of Russia believed zealously in themselves

as the future leaders of civilization. They looked forward to an *All-Slavic Empire* which should include the Slavic peoples of Austria-Hungary and of the Balkans. They considered Russia, moreover, the *natural heir of the defunct Eastern Roman Empire:* the Turk was to be driven back to Asia, and Constantinople was to become the second capital of the empire of their dreams. This All-Slavic Empire, in power and in the character of its culture, was to surpass the Western civilization which so far has swayed the world. Hence, in their opinion, the Russian state was the natural protector of Slavic interests beyond the Russian boundaries, — for instance, in the Balkan peninsula.

C. Government and Politics

836. The government was, until 1917, an absolute despotism. The Tsar possessed unrestricted power in civil and religious matters. It was, moreover, a highly centralized despotism, reaching down into the trifling details of the conduct of its subjects. Not a scholarship in a school, nor a bed in a hospital could be introduced without the solemn approval of the Tsar. Such a system requires of course the appointment by the central government of a veritable army of officials, and enables the government to exercise an enormous amount of patronage and favoritism. This Russian bureaucracy has all along been noted for its corruption, and has perhaps more than any other cause utterly discredited the government with the masses. But there were other sources of revolutionary unrest.

837. Russianizing the Favored Provinces. — The western provinces of Russia — Finland and the Baltic provinces — had drawn their civilization from Sweden and Germany. The former had, indeed, belonged for centuries to Sweden, whilst the civilization of the latter is almost entirely the work of the Teutonic Knights (§§ 240, 247), and the upper classes are still mainly German in blood and speech. In both these regions the predominant religion was, until recently, the Lutheran creed.

The Poles, too, have been marked off from the Russian Slavs by a higher degree of western culture and, above all, by their loyal attachment to the Catholic Church. Finland, Poland, and the Baltic provinces excel Russia proper in civilization; and each at its incorporation into the Russian state was solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own religion, language, customs, and laws. Despite these pledges the Slavophils determined to Russianize these peoples. Russianizing meant a certain amount of real progress for the barbarous races of Siberia and the Caucasus, but it was bitterly resented by the progressive western districts. Since 1881, the German language has been forbidden in the schools and churches and for all public communications. In Poland, after futile insurrections in 1830, 1848, and 1863, Russification has been carried on with persistent brutality. Confiscation of Polish property and its distribution among Russians, prohibition of the Polish language in schools and churches, but especially attacks upon the religion of the Poles have been the means employed by despotic government.

838. Finland, after the Congress of Vienna, was connected with Russia only through "personal union"; the Tsar was also Grand-duke of Finland, but the duchy had its own constitution, its own representative Diet, and its free institutions, all guaranteed in the most solemn manner by each grand-duke at his accession. Moreover, the Finns were industrious, peaceful, and prosperous, and thus gave no pretext for interference. Still the Slavophils had their way. In 1900 the process of making Finland a mere Russian province began; and, despite the sympathies of the Western world for Finland, it was carried on rapidly, until by 1902 the last vestiges of the ancient liberties of this little northern land had been swept away.

The revolutionary disorders of 1905–1906 (see below), however, gave the Finns an opportunity which they were quick to seize. The helplessness of the Russian state forced the Tsar to yield to their demands and to restore to the Finns their an-

cient rights. A Diet, elected by manhood suffrage, adopted a new constitution which received the Tsar's approval in 1906. This constitution provides a single-House legislature elected by universal suffrage. Later (1910) new measures of the Russian government again greatly reduced the Finnish autonomy.

839. The government of Russia has varied with the Tsars. *Alexander I* (1801–1825) has been mentioned several times in connection with the period of Napoleon and Metternich. He had received a French education, and, to some extent, he favored a benevolent policy in the management of Russia and Poland. His brother *Nicholas I* (1825–1855) was wholly Russian and despotic in feeling. His reign marks the beginning of the Slavophil movement. Nicholas despised Western ideas and Western civilization, and he believed in Russia with all his heart. He abandoned all of Alexander I's reforms and returned openly to the policy of despotic autocracy.

In the last years of his reign, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War (§ 679) revealed the weaknesses of the despotic bureaucratic system when pitted against Western civilization; and *Alexander II* (1855–1881), the son of Nicholas I, turned again to a liberal policy. He emancipated the serfs against the almost unanimous protest of the nobles, and he introduced local representative assemblies into the provinces, though the people cared so little for such institutions that many times the mirs and towns petitioned to be relieved from the burden of sending representatives. Jury trial was introduced, the press was left more unshackled, the universities were allowed a freedom never before permitted.

But Alexander soon found himself threatened by a revolutionary movement led by extremists. He resorted to repression. Then the Radicals fell back upon terrorism. They organized a secret society, the Nihilists,[1] and by assassination after assas-

[1] The Nihilists derive their name from the Latin Nihil (=nothing) because they approve of nothing in Russian institutions.

sination tried to avenge those of their friends who had been punished by the government and to terrify the Tsar into granting a very liberal constitution.

Alexander finally decided to grant part of their demands. He prepared a draft of a constitution which was to set up a national assembly. Unhappily, the day before the project was to be published, the Nihilists succeeded in murdering him with a dynamite bomb.

Alexander III (1881–1894) returned to the policy of his grandfather Nicholas. Many of the liberal reforms of Alexander II were undone. In nearly half of European Russia the local assemblies were abolished. The press was again subjected to inexorable censorship. The teachers in the universities were muzzled, and the royal officers and the police were given wide authority to interfere in the self-government of the mirs. Merely by decree, without trial, suspected Radicals were imprisoned in secret dungeons, or sent to suffer in Siberia. But these measures did not succeed in stamping out the revolutionary spirit. The Nihilists merely merged into the party of the Radical Socialists and, under this new form, continued their career of crime (§ 834).

840. Nicholas II (1894–1917) continued his father's policy, both as to despotism and to Slavophilism. Though personally not without good intentions, his lack of insight and his weak character made him the victim of ill-chosen advisers. His reign was filled with unrest at home and disasters abroad, until the Revolution of 1917 brought about the downfall of the dynasty and the proclamation of the Republic.

In the beginning of Nicholas' reign the policy seemed to have succeeded in crushing all reform agitation and all open criticism of the government. But below the calm surface, discontent increased. The Liberals and Radicals constantly gained more adherents among the lawyers, physicians, professors, and students of the universities, and even among some of the nobility.

When opportunity came these men would speak out. Many of them, it is true, dreamed only of slight reforms, and were thoroughly loyal to the Tsar. Nevertheless, the prevailing discontent swelled the ranks of the extremists more rapidly than those of the moderate well-intentioned patriots.

841. The Beginning of the Russian Upheaval. — The first opportunity for the dissatisfied elements came in 1904. The failure of Russia in the Japanese War showed that the despotic government had been both inefficient and corrupt. High officials had stolen money which should have gone for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies. During the disasters of the war itself other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the sufferings of the wounded. Many, too, were convinced that the war was begun merely in the interest of certain wealthy men who had heavily invested in various enterprises in the Far East. The intelligent classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry was woefully oppressed by war-taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment or lost wages in the general stagnation of industries. Early in 1905, while the war was still running its disastrous course, Russia was convulsed, as never before, by strikes, peasant risings, and mutiny in army and navy.

For a while longer the government thought to stifle such popular manifestations in blood. One instance, famous because so near the royal palace and the homes of the foreign ambassadors, sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world. A great number of loyal citizens in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) had sent a petition to the Tsar, asking him to hear them in person when, on the following Sunday, they should march to the palace to present their grievances — since they had lost faith in his officers. Sunday morning, January 22, 1905, dense masses of men, women, and children, wholly unarmed, filled the streets

leading to the royal palace. The Cossack cavalry charged these helpless throngs, and the palace troops mowed them down with machine guns. This was the "*Red Sunday.*"

Now, for once, the educated classes spoke out forcefully. The day after Red Sunday, leading citizens of the capital joined in a public declaration that "the government had declared war on the Russian people," and in an appeal to all good citizens to support the cause of reform. For a time the Tsar and his advisers felt compelled to yield. In March a representative assembly was promised, and, soon after, the Tsar issued a decree guaranteeing complete freedom of speech.

Nicholas stated, however, that the *Duma* (assembly) should have power only to advise him, and he excluded workingmen and the professional classes from the right of voting in the election. Then followed a general strike. In October the railways were idle. In the cities the stores were closed. Power-houses shut down, and the electric light went out. This finally brought the government to yield. New rules were issued for the election, and the assembly was promised some slight power.

In May, 1906, amid gathering anarchy, the promised Duma was at last brought together — the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The Tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively at the polls against Radical candidates; but the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. A great majority of the members were Liberals or Socialists.

By unanimous vote the Duma asked for four political reforms, — universal suffrage, a "responsible" ministry, the abolition of martial law, and amnesty for all political offenders then in prison or exile. They petitioned, also, for a long program of social reform, including the turning over of state lands to the suffering peasantry. All these demands were refused. After

proper persistence, the Duma wisely withdrew all but the demand for relief of the peasants. Reactionary counsels, however, were gaining ground with the Tsar. He announced that he was "sadly disappointed" that the Duma insisted upon meddling with matters that did not pertain to it; and July 21 he dissolved it, saying that he himself would see to the needed reforms.

Accordingly, in October, 1906, an imperial edict decreed the land reforms mentioned in § 833, and abolished the special privileges of the nobles, making all Russians equal before the law and equally eligible to public employment. Another Duma was promised for March, 1907.

842. Recent Events. — The dissolution was followed by months of anarchy. The government fell back upon stern repression and intimidation, and aimed at suppressing not only disorder, but every form of political agitation. The extreme revolutionists resorted to a new campaign of systematic assassination. Meantime the unhappy land was again distracted by peasant risings and by strikes, which were put down brutally by Cossack "punitive expeditions" in which thousands of unoffending people perished, while a new famine desolated many provinces.

The second Duma met March 5, 1907. The liberal members of the former assembly, so far as they were not already in prison or in the grave, had been made ineligible for election. But a new body of Socialists appeared, and there was a large majority opposed to the government. In June the Tsar ordered the Duma to expel some sixty members on the ground of treason. The Duma appointed a committee to investigate the charge. The Tsar at once dissolved it for this delay, and the police seized the accused delegates.

Then, contrary to plain promises in 1906, the Tsar changed once more the plan of elections, so as to give power very largely to the great landowners. The third Duma, elected on this

new basis, met in November, 1907, and proved submissive to the Tsar's will. On the expiration of its term (in 1912), like methods secured a fourth Duma equally satisfactory to despotism.

But the Revolutionists continued their terrorism and assassinations until the outbreak of the Great War (1914). To all outward appearances the national crisis seemed to have quelled the domestic discord. But disasters in the field and profound mistrust of the government's policy enkindled anew the revolutionary flame. In March, 1917, the world was suddenly surprised by the news that the Tsar had been dethroned. For a while it seemed as if a moderate party was really to give Russia unity and much-needed reform, but soon the extremists overthrew the temporary government, and there followed a season of chaos and a reign of terror. It is impossible to foretell the outcome of it all. The reorganization of Russia presents many difficult problems, chiefly because numerous evils have been allowed to grow unchecked for so long a time.

843. It seems certain that **the religious question** will claim no little attention in the future. The Russian schismatic state church has fallen into contempt with the majority of the intellectual leaders of the people. The Russian clergy is poorly educated and disgraced by many unworthy members. Its influence on the conduct of the people is, therefore, very insignificant. The revolution has deprived it of its mainstay, the government, and it is extremely doubtful whether it will be able to maintain itself on the sole support of the masses.

The Catholic Church, which counts about thirteen million souls, suffered grievously at the hands of the deposed government. It is to be hoped that the new Russia that one day is to emerge from the present chaos will be more tolerant. There are, especially in southwestern Russia, thousands who have been forced into the Russian state church, and thousands are returning to the true fold, now that the state no longer inter-

feres in religious matters. Genuine liberty and the deep religious sense of the Russian people might perhaps lead to a movement towards reunion with Rome.

For Further Reading. — Hayes II, Chap. XXV. Holt and Chilton and other general histories. There is an admirable article on Russia in the Cath. Encycl.

CHAPTER LXII

THE BALKAN STATES

844. The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, left the Balkans practically unchanged. — All southeastern Europe, beyond Austria-Hungary and Russia, remained part of Turkey, as it had been ever since the fifteenth century (§ 319). But the *Turk* was merely an *invader;* he never mixed with the conquered races, never raised them to a higher plane of civilization, never even reconciled them to his rule. The modern history of southeastern Europe begins only with the recovery of freedom by these enslaved peoples. The Turks always formed only a small portion of the population; the majority differed from them not only in race and language but also in religion, for the greater number of the native Balkan races had clung to their Christian (Greek Schismatic) church.

In the old Hellenic peninsula dwelt the *Greeks.* North of the Danube, in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, lived the *Roumanians,* a mixture of ancient Dacians, Roman colonists, and Slavic fragments. Their language, however, has preserved the characteristics of a Romance tongue. Between the Roumanians and the Greeks lay two Slav nations, the *Bulgarians* [1] in the east from the Ægean Sea to the Danube, and the *Serbians* in the west. On the Adriatic Sea were the *Albanians,* wild herdsmen who had partly abandoned the Christian religion for Mohammedanism.

The lines between these peoples and their kinsmen in Austria-

[1] The original Bulgars were Mongolian invaders, like the Magyars. But they were too few to preserve their race and language and may now be considered a Slavic nation.

Hungary and in Russia were drawn merely by the accidents of war. A fourth of the Roumanians were in the province of Bessarabia, which Russia had seized from Turkey in 1812. Another fourth was in Transylvania, which was restored to Hungary in the Turkish wars of the seventeenth century (§§ 501–503). The Croats and Serbs living in southern and western Hungary were of the same race as the people just across the southern boundary of Hungary. In the fastnesses of *Montenegro* (Black Mountain) dwell two hundred thousand half-savage Serbians who never yielded to the Turks, but kept their lawless freedom at the cost of five hundred years of "ferocious heroism."

845. Three subject races win freedom, 1829. — The *Roumanians* beyond the Danube and the *Serbians* in their rugged country had risen in various rebellions early in the nineteenth century; but the first successful revolt of a subject people was the *Greek rising* of 1821–1829 (§ 634). In connection with the final settlement (1829) the Roumanian provinces and Serbia were granted a large measure of self-government under rulers of their own. However, they remained tributary to the Turkish Empire.

846. The First Eastern Question. — About the middle of the century Tsar Nicholas II suggested to England that it was time to decide what was to be done with the possessions of the Turks; for it seemed certain that the dominions of the Sultan were approaching their dissolution. This was the first "Eastern Question," as that question was long to be understood. England received this suggestion for the partition of Turkey very coolly. She preferred to bolster up the Ottoman power as a barrier to Russian advance to the Mediterranean. England, France, and Russia had acted in concert twenty-five years before in freeing the Greeks, but in 1854 (in the Crimean War) the two Western states fought Russia to prevent any further breaking up of Turkey (§ 679).

847. Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878. — In return the Sultan promised better treatment of his Christian subjects; but the next twenty years saw no serious attempts to carry out this pledge. The year 1858 saw a massacre of Christians in Arabia; in 1860 several thousand Christians in Syria fell victims to Mohammedan fanaticism. Finally, in 1875–1876, the people of *Bosnia* and *Herzegovina*, driven to desperation by the Turkish tax-gatherers, rose in revolt, and the Bulgarians followed suit. The Herzegovinian herdsmen in their distant mountains were able to carry on a guerilla warfare for some time; but the Bulgarians who had put to death some Turkish officials were made to feel the full measure of Moslem vengeance. This vengeance became known as the "*Bulgarian atrocities.*" Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred villages, massacred thirty thousand people with every form of torture and cruelty, and carried off thousands of Christian women into degrading slavery.

Meantime *Serbia* had risen in support of the Bosnian insurgents, and *Montenegro* had followed her example. But, being unequal to the task of coping with the Turkish armies, they begged the Great Powers for assistance. All the Powers, however, except *Russia*, held back, confining themselves to sending notes and remonstrances to the Sultan, who remained defiant. Russia's patience was at last exhausted. In 1877 *Alexander II*, with the hearty and unanimous approval of his people, *declared war on Turkey*. The universal horror and indignation in Western Europe at the crimes of the Turks prevented, for a time, any interference with Russia by the Western governments. In ten months the Russian armies held the Turks at their mercy. They advanced to within seven miles of Constantinople. The Peace of *San Stefano*, 1878, arranged for a group of Slav states in the Balkan peninsula and the withdrawal of the Turk from Europe, except for the city of Constantinople itself. Had this peace remained in force, the map

of southeastern Europe would have resembled very closely that of 1913 (§ 854).

848. The Congress of Berlin. — With consternation *Austria* beheld her own Slavonic frontiers bounded by other Slav states under Russian influence, and *England* saw the dreaded Russian advance to the Mediterranean as an accomplished fact. Hence they decided to interfere and to modify the Treaty of San Stefano. At the invitation of Bismarck a *European congress*

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.

met at Berlin. It was dominated by Disraeli (§ 737) and meant a diplomatic defeat for Russia. Part of the liberated Christian population was returned to the old slavery, and the liberties of others were cut down.

a. Roumania and Serbia, virtually independent since 1829, became sovereign kingdoms, and the latter kept a small part of the territory she had recovered from the Turks in the war. Roumania lost *Bessarabia* [1] to Russia.

b. Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the revolt had begun, were

[1] Bessarabia, after the Crimean War (1856) had been united to Moldavia.

given to Austria-Hungary, to be kept "temporarily" and to be pacified. No definite time limit, however, was set to the Austrian occupation. It must be admitted that the Austrians did much, and at considerable expense to themselves, to restore peace and order in that lawless section of former Turkish territory. But Serbia had cast a longing eye on these two provinces, inhabited as they are by kinsmen of the Serbs, and the Austrian occupation became a source of permanent friction between the two states.

c. Bulgaria, as the treaty of San Stefano had left it, was divided into three parts. The northern part, between the Danube and the Balkan range, received the same kind of independence which Serbia and Roumania had had before the war, and was permitted to choose a ruler of its own. The middle part (Roumelia) was returned to Turkey, but the Sultan had to pledge himself to appoint a Christian governor whose administration would be under the supervision of the Great Powers. The southern third ("Macedonia") was given back absolutely to the Turk.

d. Greece, at a staggering cost, had built up an army, and in 1877 she wished to join in the attack on Turkey, to recover her ancient teritories, *Thessaly* and *Epirus*. The Western Powers forbade such action, promising Greece that she should gain her end by keeping quiet. Accordingly, soon after the Congress, she was given most of these coveted districts (1881).

849. The Second Eastern Question. — The selfish interference of the Great Powers thus put off the solution of the Eastern Question and gave rise to new complications. It must be admitted, however, that the satisfactory arrangement of affairs on the Balkan peninsula presents extremely difficult problems. Apart from the fears and ambitions of England and Austria, the determination of the boundaries of the Balkan states in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned is well-nigh impossible.

AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
ITALY
Budapest
Venice
Trieste
Agram
Save R.
Drave R.
Theiss R.
Pruth R.
Jassy
Moldavia
Transylvania
Bessarabia
Dniester R.
Kherson
Dnieper
Odessa
Akerman
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Sebastopol
Balaklava
BLACK SEA
(In hands of Austria)
BOSNIA
Serajevo
Spalato
Dalmatia
HERZEGOVINA
Mostar
MONTENEGRO
Ragusa
ROME
Naples
Tarento
Durazzo
Albania
Avlona
Butrinto
Epirus
SERVIA
BELGRADE
Zvornik
Passarowitz
Nissa
Prisrend
SOFIA
Danube
ROUMANIA
Wallachia
Krajova
BUKHAREST
R.
Silistria
Rustchuk
Plevna
BULGARIA
(Virtually Independent)
Varna
EAST'N ROUMELIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
Samsun
Iskub
TURKEY
Monastir
Seres
S.Stefano
Scutari
Enos
Kastoria
Salonika
Brusa
Angora
Kizil Irmak
Thessaly
Trikala
1881
LEMNOS
MITYLENE
CHIOS
Smyrna
EMPIRE
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Corinth
ATHENS
GREECE
Sparta
Tarsus
Antioch
RHODES
CYPRUS
(To Eng.)
Candia
CRETE
THE BALKAN STATES
AFTER 1878-1881.
Proposed boundaries of San Stefano
Striped Districts to show the parts of Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria returned to Turkey by the Congress of Berlin.
Tributary in name to Turkey
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

A glance at the map will show that the Berlin Congress left of the European territory of Turkey a long narrow strip less in area than the State of Missouri, extending from the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora across the peninsula to the Adriatic. To this strip the name "*Macedonia*" is frequently applied. It is broken everywhere by mountain ranges, and inhabited by such a mixture of peoples that it has been aptly described as a "perfect museum of races." Along the coast of the Ægean Sea and the borders of Greece, the Greeks predominate. In the north central regions are the Serbs, in the northeast the Bulgars. Scattered through the central districts are the Turks and a considerable number of Jews. In the west, bordering on the Adriatic, are the Albanians, a wild people, primitive in their civilization and lawless in their habits. The racial boundaries are not well defined and many districts are inhabited by several of these peoples. From this it will be clear that a partition of this remnant of Turkish territory in Europe bristles with difficulties.

850. After 1878 "Macedonia" was most of the time in a state of anarchy. — Insurrectionary committees, operating from Bulgaria, fomented revolts, and the Turks put them down with cruelties like those of 1876, while jealousies between the Great Powers prevented intervention.

Then, in 1896, the island of *Crete* rebelled against the Sultan and asked for annexation to Greece. Confusion and massacres followed for many months. The Powers, fearing international complications, forbade the union of Crete with Greece. In spite of this opposition Greece sent assistance to the Cretans, well knowing that this meant war with Turkey. She hoped that the Bulgarians would rise and make common cause with her. But when, next spring, the Sultan declared war on Greece the Bulgarians remained quiet and the Powers left Greece to her fate. The Turkish army, reorganized and drilled by German officers, showed a military excellence wholly unexpected.

The Greeks were quickly defeated, forced to pay a war indemnity, and to cede strips of territory along their northern boundary which gave to Turkey the command of all the passes into Greece. A few years later, however, the Powers compelled the Turks to permit the appointment of a Greek governor for the island of Crete.

851. The Eastern Question was reopened by the Turkish Revolution of 1908. — This revolution was the work of a new party, known as the "*Young Turks*," which found its recruits chiefly in the army and among the younger men who had received their education at foreign universities. In 1908 a so-called "Committee of Union and Progress" was formed in the Turkish port of Salonica. In July this committee declared that Turkey must have a constitution and a parliament, after the fashion of the Western states. The aged Sultan Abdul Hamid II was forced to yield; the first Turkish parliament was opened while all the world wondered whether the young and inexperienced reformers would succeed in improving so thoroughly corrupt a government as that of Abdul Hamid and of his predecessors. Indeed, troubles arose soon enough. A counter-revolution had to be put down in Constantinople. Abdul Hamid, who at heart hated the reformers, was deposed and his brother was made Sultan under the title of Mohammed V. But in spite of this initial success the Young Turks found it increasingly difficult to maintain their position against their numerous opponents at home. Still more serious for the reformers were the losses in prestige and territory which Turkey suffered under the new régime.

852. Losses. — As soon as the revolution broke out, *Bulgaria* seized the opportunity to declare herself entirely independent. Next *Austria* proclaimed her control over *Bosnia-Herzegovina* permanent. This was a serious blow to the Serbians, for ever since they had won their independence they dreamed of a larger Serbia which should include these two provinces, and even-

tually, too, Croatia and Slavonia to the north of them. Austria, on the other hand, considered these provinces as of the greatest importance for herself, since they connected her main possessions with Dalmatia and her Adriatic ports.

But the troubles of the Young Turks were not yet at an end. In September, 1911, *Italy* determined to declare war on Turkey, on the ground that Italian subjects in *Tripoli* were not properly treated. All Europe protested against such high-handed action; but the Italians very properly retorted that they were only following the example of other countries, protecting their citizens by annexing territories the governments of which were unable to maintain law and order. In the war that followed Turkey was no match for Italy. There was not much fighting, and Italy took possession of what territory she could hold with her troops. The Young Turks were compelled to give in, chiefly because a new and more formidable danger threatened nearer home. In October, 1912, they ceded Tripoli to Italy. The Italians renamed it *Libya*.

853. The Two Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. — Venizelos, prime minister of *Greece*, had secretly arranged an alliance with *Bulgaria*, *Serbia*, and little *Montenegro* for a war against Turkey. The object of this *Balkan League* was to drive the Turk out of Macedonia and to divide that territory among the members of the League. Hostilities began in October, 1912, immediately after the cession of Tripoli. The Turkish army disappointed every one, and the Bulgarians were able in a short time to defeat it, to invest Adrianople, and to drive the Turkish forces back to Constantinople. The Greeks, meantime, advanced into Thrace and Macedonia, and the Montenegrin and Serbian armies defeated Turkish detachments in the western Balkans.

Austria and *Italy* now began to get nervous lest the Serbians should establish themselves on the Adriatic. They forbade Serbia to hold Albania and particularly the port of Durazzo, which the Serbians had just wrested from the Turks. For

a while there was danger of a general European conflagration, since it was feared that Russia would take sides with Serbia. But Russia did not move, and Serbia had to accede to the Austrian demand. A conference was arranged to meet in *London*.

THE BALKAN STATES.

The Young Turks had to turn over Macedonia and Crete to the Balkan Allies.

854. But now the Allies fell out over the booty. — Bulgaria claimed most of the conquered territory, in accordance with her understanding of the treaty of alliance. She had, moreover, borne the brunt of the fighting and suffered the heaviest losses. Serbia, however, insisted on a revision of the treaty. Since Austria's veto prevented her from acquiring Albania and an outlet to the Adriatic she now asked for compensation in the

Bulgarian share of Macedonia. Greece, Montenegro, and Roumania joined Serbia, fearing that Bulgaria would become the predominant state in the peninsula. (Roumania had not participated in the first war, but now she saw a chance for extending her territory at the expense of Bulgaria.) In June, 1913, the *Second Balkan War* began. After bloody defeats Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace. The Turks had in the

CONSTANTINOPLE. — General view from across the Golden Horn.

meantime reoccupied Adrianople and thus doubled their hold on Europe. The general *peace of Bucharest* again failed to solve the Balkan question. *Albania* was made an independent state. Bulgaria was cheated out of her hopes of Salonica and other territories. *Greece* received Salonica and parts of Thrace; *Serbia* nearly doubled her size, extending southward, while *Roumania* enlarged her possessions between the Danube and the Black Sea, at the expense of *Bulgaria*. The latter state received parts of Macedonia, but was refused a suitable

harbor on the Ægean and other districts which even her enemies recognized as clearly Bulgarian in the race and language of the inhabitants. This bitter disappointment induced the Bulgarians to enter the Great War as enemies of Serbia, to obtain what, in their eyes, was unjustly denied to them in the peace of Bucharest.

855. These Balkan wars gave the world an object lesson of what modern war with the modern engines of destruction was likely to be. The public debt of all participants increased enormously, the losses were appalling, and the hatred engendered by the fierce national animosities was intense. Atrocities of the worst kind were committed on all sides, and it is hard to say whether Christians or Turks went farther in these relapses into barbarism.

The Balkan states are all constitutional monarchies, in form; and Bulgaria, Greece, and Roumania have much real constitutional life. In Serbia, changes in the dynasty and other political changes are still brought about by coups d'état and assassination. Montenegro and Albania are practically absolute monarchies.

The national assembly in each country, except Roumania, has only one House; and manhood suffrage prevails everywhere. Education is still in a primitive state, though much farther advanced in Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece than in the other states. The total population is something over twenty millions. Most of the people adhere to the Greek Orthodox Church, other religions having very few followers. As the Slavs in Austria-Hungary are largely Catholic, many think that the difference in religion would prove a serious obstacle to a permanent union between them and the Serbs.

For Further Reading. — Of the general histories of modern times Hayes and Hazen give the best treatment of Balkan affairs. The international character of the Near Eastern Problem is well brought out in Holt and Chilton.

PART XI. THE NEW AGE

CHAPTER LXIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO AFRICA AND ASIA

A. World Commerce

856. Increase in Population. — We have seen how in the first half of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution rapidly transformed Europe into a busy world of mines, factories, and shops. The invention of new machinery constantly increased the bulk and variety of the industrial products. For a while these new products were used chiefly to increase the well-being of the home population. People began to dress better, to eat a greater variety of food, to spend more money on their own comfort and on articles of luxury, to provide more educational facilities for their children.

Among the sciences that can record marvelous progress in the nineteenth century, the science of medicine holds a prominent place. It has learned to recognize and to check almost innumerable causes of sickness; it has thus prevented disease and greatly decreased the rate of mortality. Its achievements lie not so much in the invention of new cures and new medicines as in the education of the masses to a healthier mode of living, to habits of greater cleanliness and greater care on the part of the civil authorities for the physical welfare of the citizens.

All these causes have had one effect which profoundly influenced modern conditions, an *unprecedented increase in population.* A greater abundance of the means of subsistence, more varied opportunities for profitable employment, diminution of the danger to health, these and other causes have cut down mortality and increased the population of Europe so rapidly

that during the last century almost every country has doubled the number of its inhabitants.

857. Expansion of Industry — Markets. — The growth in population in turn led large numbers into the new industries, into the busy life of the cities with their shops and factories, and thus increased the output of the manufactures in the several countries. Simultaneously time-saving machinery was constantly being improved and multiplied, and soon production reached a point where it greatly exceeded the needs of the home population. Hence the manufacturers were compelled to go in quest of foreign markets.

Moreover, the manufacturer, in order to produce his useful articles, needs a great amount of *raw material*, of *coal* or *water power*, and a *vast army of skilled workmen*. Now these things are not distributed in equal shares over all civilized lands. One country may have rich mines of coal and metals, but her soil and her climate may hinder her agriculture; another has fertile lands which produce more than the needs of her people require; still another lacks mines and good farms, but her people are naturally clever and patient and therefore fitted to produce the finest manufactured products. Thus, England, for example, has perhaps the richest coal mines in the world, but her metal mines cannot compare with those of America, and her farms would never feed her teeming millions. Germany mines coal and iron, but no copper and practically none of the precious metals. Switzerland lacks almost completely the raw materials needed in modern manufactures and her beautiful mountains do not furnish her with any coal. But she has an abundance of water power, and her people have a natural instinct for the fine mechanical arts.

Thus the modern factory system compelled the manufacturer in hundreds of cases to go to *foreign markets* to sell the surplus products of one kind and to buy the other kind which he cannot obtain at home.

This *unequal distribution of natural resources* is of course nothing new. But in former times it was hard and often impossible to secure the products of distant lands. *Modern improvements in communication* have changed all that. The railroad has brought inland regions within easy reach of one another and of the seaports, and the steamship links together the most distant productive centers of the world. Transportation and communication have become so fast, secure, and cheap that we hardly stop to think of how many lands and how many nations contribute to our needs and our comfort. Perhaps the coffee you take at your breakfast comes from distant Brazil, the wool in your clothes from Australian sheep, the leather of your shoes from South Africa, and the clock ticking on your desk from the hands of a skilled Swiss watchmaker, and so on indefinitely. Knowledge, too, is diffused more rapidly. The thoughts and discoveries of a lonely scholar become by means of the printing press the common possession of millions. Current events in the most remote parts of the globe can be followed by every man capable of reading his newspaper, almost as soon as they happen. When King Edward of England died in the night of May 6, 1910, the people of San Francisco read the news in their evening paper one hour later. Only a hundred years ago the people of Paris were for weeks in ignorance of the great disaster that had befallen Napoleon's army in the snows of Russia.

858. Effects. — It would seem to the casual observer that all these changes have had only *beneficial results*. Our material well-being has certainly increased, our health is better protected. In former times local failures of crops often produced great hardships and even famines, but with our modern means of transportation deficiency of foodstuffs is readily supplied and calamity averted. Our wishes and even our whims for change and novelty are easily gratified.

But there is a *darker side* to this picture, and modern history

illustrates it only too well. The highly developed industrial and commercial life of a country can be maintained only if there are sufficient markets abroad. Hence the interested parties, private concerns as well as governments, will constantly try to open such markets at any cost. Often civilized foreign countries offer favorable opportunities, but this is not always the case. Perhaps the article hitherto sent to a foreign country is now being produced in that country. At the outset the supply is not equal to the demand, but the governments of foreign countries try to develop their home industries and in order not to succumb to outside competition they put high duties on imported goods which virtually exclude the competitor from abroad.

For these and similar reasons various governments find it advantageous to create markets in foreign lands which are under their political control or, in other words, to acquire territory from which they can easily exclude other competitors, and which in many cases furnish the mother country with valuable raw materials. Hence the general scramble in the nineteenth century for colonies.

But there are other reasons for colonial enterprise. Thousands of emigrants annually leave the different European countries to find elsewhere better means of subsistence, cheap lands, chances for better employment, and so forth. Naturally, the respective governments dislike to lose so many subjects whose taxes might enrich the treasury and whose numbers might swell the ranks of the armies of their native countries. Hence the desire to acquire colonial possessions, attractive enough to invite the surplus population of the mother country.

Still another factor must be taken into consideration. Modern conditions have produced, as we have seen, a new class of society, the capitalist, the man who has millions of ready money to invest in any promising enterprise. Frequently

better returns are expected from investment abroad. Hence capital goes to foreign undeveloped lands, opens mines, builds railroads, establishes banks, and in a hundred other ways tries to develop profitable business. Thus it has been estimated that British capitalists have invested about ten billions abroad; at least one fifth of Russia's industrial enterprises are financed by foreigners. French, German, British, and Belgian capital operates in Chinese mines and railroads; many of the larger banking concerns in Brazil, Argentina, and other South American states are in the hands of foreigners.

It should, however, be noted that capital does not go only to backward countries, but wherever the prospects of big returns are good. Thus American money is invested in British enterprises and vice versa. The reason for this is obvious. The importation of goods may be unprofitable on account of the high tariffs, but capital and its returns are not dutiable commodities. Thus capital often creates or maintains industries abroad. Frequently, too, a firm instead of shipping its products to a foreign country, sets up branches there and manufactures the article in that country into which it could not profitably be imported.

859. Imperialism. — These three tendencies, the desire for foreign *markets*, for *lands* where emigrants may settle, for *investment* of capital, are shaping the commercial and foreign policies of every important European state. They explain why the great industrial nations embark on what has been termed a policy of *imperialism*. It is the policy of adding distant territories for the purpose of exploiting their resources, getting trade with the natives or with European settlers, and of investing capital. Sometimes this imperialism takes the form of outright *annexation*, as in the case of most of the European colonies in Africa. Sometimes it assumes the form of establishing "*Protectorates*" or "*Spheres of influence*," which is a declaration to the effect that, "we are interested in this par-

ticular piece of land, we do not take the responsibility of governing it just now, but we want order and peace in it and shall therefore police it; above all we want to keep out other nations, for sooner or later we intend to annex it." Sometimes imperialism is content with "*concessions*" in undeveloped countries; that is, with the exclusive right to develop mines, build railroads, etc. in a particular district. Such concessions have been obtained by foreigners in China and Mexico.

In case of annexation of lands inhabited by less civilized peoples the annexing government is of course interested in having the natives civilized or "Westernized"; for with the acquisition of Western standards these natives become buyers in European markets, or at least cease to render the colony unsafe for European settlers and merchants. Hence, the governments of colonizing nations generally favor the efforts of the missionaries. But the beneficial effects of such favors, though sometimes really sincere, should not be overestimated. They are almost neutralized by the example of the white settlers whose "civilizing" influence is often confined to making the natives acquainted with Western vices; sometimes, too, the white man would rather see the aborigines exterminated and make room on their lands for the greedy immigrant. Besides, the diversity of creeds, or lack of creed, does not impress the natives very favorably. All these evils more than undo the "favors" or the protection extended to the missionaries by selfish governments.

860. A little reflection on the conditions explained in the previous paragraphs will make the student realize what a complicated situation has been created by modern industrial life. The world has thereby become one enormous intricate mechanism. The slightest change or disorder in one place will often be keenly felt by people thousands of miles away. Thus the increase of the tariff on one article may elsewhere throw thousands of men out of employment. A strike in a

coal mine may bring misery to hundreds of factory workers. A revolution in a South American republic may ruin banking houses or industries in distant lands. In case of great wars, especially between maritime powers, these effects are all the greater, as one nation tries to injure the trade of another. Hence the enormous growth of navies to protect the seaborne trade of the mother country and to destroy that of the enemy.

It is therefore not surprising that commercial and industrial interests frequently try to shape the policies of a foreign country. On account of the vast sums at their disposal they sometimes succeed. Either the governments of foreign countries are approached directly or pressure is brought to bear on them by means of "public opinion," created or directed through the press or through the great news agencies. Such means are often very questionable and at best create mutual distrust between one nation and another or between the people and their government. A frank and open discussion of the international effects of national policies is much to be preferred. The situation is full of dangers. Competition is so keen, the interests not only of capitalists but also of the masses are so intimately bound up with the action of other nations, and human greed and human passions are so strong that it would be almost miraculous if objectionable means were not sometimes used to influence the policies of other nations. Here above all there is need of a return to the principles of justice and Christian charity. Much hatred and much intriguing would have been avoided if our modern age were not so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of materialism which subordinates everything to the acquisition of wealth and comfort.

The eagerness for the acquisition of markets and colonies is nowhere better exemplified than in the recent partition of Africa and in the commercial penetration of the backward countries of Asia. Hence we will have to take a brief survey of these two fields of European enterprise.

B. Partition of Africa

861. When the hunt for colonies began it had, after all, to confine itself chiefly to parts of the less densely inhabited earth. Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States or England. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine. Africa, however, was largely unappropriated, and in Asia the stationary and apparently helpless empires of China, Turkey, and Persia invited attack.

862. The division of the vast continent of Africa was swift and, on the whole, peaceful. In 1880 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European; in 1891 the whole continent was mapped out between European claimants. For half a century France had been extending her sway over Algeria on the north. For nearly double that time England had held the Cape Colony in the south. She has in recent years enormously extended her South African possessions by annexing the two Boer republics (§ 755); and the events of 1881 (§ 753) put the Nile valley into English control. A little earlier the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley had awakened interest in the heart of the "Darkest Continent."

Various explorers had traced the *Nile* to its source, discovered the great inland lakes, and found the sources of the *Zambesi*. *Stanley*, in the early seventies, had proved that the *upper Congo* extended into the neighborhood of the great lakes and that the immense region constituting the heart of Africa was a rich and accessible country. In 1876, at the suggestion of King Leopold II of Belgium, the *Congo International Association* was organized to explore Central Africa and to stop the horrible slave trade carried on by the Arabs. In 1879 Stanley in the service of Leopold and the Association returned to the upper Congo and made there the beginnings of an organized state.

AFRICA
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
British
German
French
Italian
Spanish
Portuguese
Congo State
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
CAPE VERDE IS. (Portugal)
SAN ANTONIO I.
ST. VINCENT I.
ST. NICHOLAS I.
BOAVISTA I.
BRAVA I.
ST. JAGO I.
C. Verde
MADEIRA IS. (Portugal)
CANARY IS. (Spanish)
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Morocco
Fez
Algiers 1830-32
Tunis 1881
Tripoli
ALGERIA
BARCA
LIBYA (Tripoli)
FEZZAN 1912
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
1881
Aswan
Suez Canal
Red Sea
Mecca
Arabian Sea
Persian Gulf
SPANISH ARE.
SAHARA
FRENCH TERRITORY
SENEGAL
1880
Niger
1882
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
1884
Monrovia
Bingerville
Akassa
Lagos
Porto Novo
Old Calabar
1861
FRENCH SOUDAN
SOKOTO
NIGERIA
1885
SUDAN
1883-85-1898
Khartum
KORDOFAN
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Asmara
ERITREA
1883
Blue Nile R.
White Nile R.
Fashoda
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Gulf of Aden
BRITISH SOMALILAND 1884
Addis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND 1889
1890
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
EQUATOR
Victoria Nyanza
Formosa Bay
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salam
GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1885
Tanganyika L.
Kassai R.
Congo R.
Duala
1901
KAMERUN
FERNANDO PO (Span.)
ST. THOMAS I. (Port.)
1885
Libreville
Francheville
FRENCH CONGO
CONGO STATE (Belgian)
Gulf of Guinea
Boma
ASCENSION I. (British)
St. Paul de Loanda
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
1484
ST. HELENA (British)
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
1884
Windhoek
Salisbury
Buluwayo
Beira
RHODESIA
1890
L. Nyassa
Mozambique
1500
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Zambezi R.
Tananarivo
MADAGASCAR (French) 1896
TRANSVAAL COLONY
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
Lourenço Marquez
NATAL
Pietermaritzburg
Bloemfontein
Orange R.
CAPE COLONY
1806
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
INDIAN OCEAN
RUSSIA
GERMANY
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
TURKEY
Danube R.
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Adriatic Sea
ITALY
FRANCE
SPAIN
MOROCCO
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

In 1884 Bismarck called an international congress to Berlin to discuss African affairs. As a result the "*Congo Free State*" was formed with a territory of one million square miles and with some thirty million inhabitants. For a while it was governed by a private company. Its irresponsible officials made themselves guilty of horrible atrocities against the defenseless natives. An agitation against these misdeeds resulted, in 1904, in the Belgian government taking over the Free State. It now became a Belgian colony, and the Belgian government is responsible for its administration.

The establishment of the Congo State and the Berlin conference were followed by the raising of the German flag in Africa (§ 789), and then began a wild scramble for territory which quickly made all the continent European, except Abyssinia and Liberia. The three foremost European Powers in Africa were England, France, and Germany. Of these *England* so far is in the lead. Aside from small territories at other points of the coast her sway extends over the whole Nile valley (the richest part of the continent) and over large territories in the south. Her ambition has been to unite her possessions in the north and south; but the Congo State and German East Africa were thrust between. However, in the near future an English railway, already far advanced, will join Cairo and Cape Town (probably through the Congo State) and thus open all Africa to English commerce.

France would have liked to join her colonial realms on the east and on the west of the continent; but she found English territory thrust between. German ambitions were thwarted in like manner. Other European colonies belong to smaller states. Of these the Portuguese are the most extensive. But the poverty and maladministration of that state make it probable that they will be divided by her powerful rivals. In general, it seems certain that the final results of the Great War will change the map of Africa very considerably.

C. European Expansion in Asia

863. The occupation of Asia by European states had proceeded more slowly than that of Africa, but it has moved with increasing rapidity in recent years. Central and northern Asia is Russian. The great, densely populated peninsula of Hindustan, with adjoining Burma, is English. The southeastern peninsula, since 1896, is mainly French. The only independent states left in this greatest of the continents are Asia Minor (so far Turkish but soon to be divided into several national states), Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, and China.

Of these, Afghanistan and Siam are mere remnants of "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other. Of recent years England has sought to preserve them as barriers to her rivals. Persia, too, is virtually a dependency either of England or Russia, according to the varying fortune of those countries; and in the closing years of the nineteenth century it seemed that even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces. In those same years **two new actors appeared upon the stage of world politics**. A war between Japan and China and the Spanish-American War added the United States and Japan to the group of World Powers interested in China.

864. Until the year 1900 the United States found scope for its energies in peopling its great territories and in developing resources at home. Content with primacy on the American continents, it resolutely kept out of European complications. But the Spanish-American War left it in possession of the Philippines; and during the war it annexed Hawaii. Thus it held the mastery of the Pacific and was brought to the door of Asia. In particular, the United States is desirous of securing a fair show for its trade in China, one of its important customers.

Americans, despite this change in our foreign policy, still desire peace, commerce, and honest friendship with foreign

countries. But these acquisitions abroad put an end to our attitude of splendid isolation. "Isolation," said President McKinley, "is no longer possible or desirable. God and man have linked nations together." There are some who fear that this new policy will eventually endanger long-cherished American principles embodied in the Monroe Doctrine and in Washington's warning, in his Farewell Address, against "entangling alliances." Others, however, refuse to share these apprehensions for our future.

865. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, **Japan** had kept herself sealed to the outer world. For more than two centuries, indeed, to hold communication with foreigners had been a capital crime. But in 1853, Commodore Perry, under orders from the United States Government, by a show of force secured the admission of American trade to certain Japanese ports; and Japan began swiftly to exchange her Oriental civilization for Western culture. Before the close of the century this transformation had been carried to a marvelous completeness. Army and navy, schools and industry, took on modern character; and in 1889 the liberal Mikado (emperor) proclaimed a constitution which created a limited monarchy, with a parliament of two houses and a responsible ministry.

In 1894–1895 Japan and China engaged in war over Korea. With amazing rapidity little Japan overcame her huge antagonist on land and sea. China agreed to cede the island of Formosa, Port Arthur, and the kingdom of Korea. Russia, however, was already longing for these districts, and, backed by France and Germany, she forced Japan to renounce her gains upon the mainland. Japan was unprepared for war with these powers, and was wise enough to yield, but she began at once to make ready, patiently and skilfully, for the struggle with Russia which was to come ten years later (§ 867).

866. The Opening of China. — In return for her interference against Japan, Russia secured from China the right to extend

her Trans-Siberian railroad through Manchuria (§ 830). Then in 1898 she secured Port Arthur, the strongest naval fortress that China possessed. Roused by this advance of her rival, England at once demanded and obtained Wai-hei-wai, on the opposite shore of the Gulf, to enable her to check Russian movements. Somewhat earlier (§ 789), on a curious pretext, Germany had seized Kiau Chau, with the surrounding district; and now France seized the port of Kwang-Chau-Wau. Still earlier, France had begun to occupy the far southeast, and England had held the island of Hong Kong ever since 1842; but the recent seizures commanded Pekin itself, and it began to look as if China were doomed to partition.

In 1900 the Chinese resentment at this prospect culminated in popular patriotic and fanatical uprisings which sought to exterminate the "Western barbarians." The movement was organized by a secret society known as the *Boxers*. Missionaries and scattered Europeans were massacred and the foreign embassies themselves were besieged at Pekin. The Powers (the United States and Japan included) sent joint forces to relieve their beleaguered representatives. After horrible and almost incredible barbarities by the invading armies, especially by the Russians, Pekin was taken and sacked and the European residents were rescued.

867. The Russian-Japanese War. — Largely through the insistence of the United States, no territorial indemnities were taken from China. During the campaign, however, Russia occupied Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated; but, before 1904, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial prosperity

(in Korea), but her independence as a nation; and after months of futile negotiations, and a pressing ultimatum for Russian withdrawal, she resorted to war.

Diplomacy had assured Japan that she would have only Russia to fight. England and Japan, in 1902, in a treaty designed to preserve the integrity of China, had agreed to aid each other in war if either were attacked by more than one power. Still the case for Japan looked dark. To most of the world, Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the little island-state was thought doomed to defeat.

But Russia fought at long range. She had to transport troops and supplies across Asia by a *single-track* railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her forms of engineering), and her rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. Congestion of traffic and long delays at critical moments were the inevitable results. To be sure, it was supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials had made way with the larger part of the money and that neither army nor navy was properly equipped. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful overconfidence and silly contempt for the foe. These drawbacks could not be counterbalanced by Russia's immense but unavailable resources nor by the desperate bravery and heroic endurance of her poorly led soldiery.

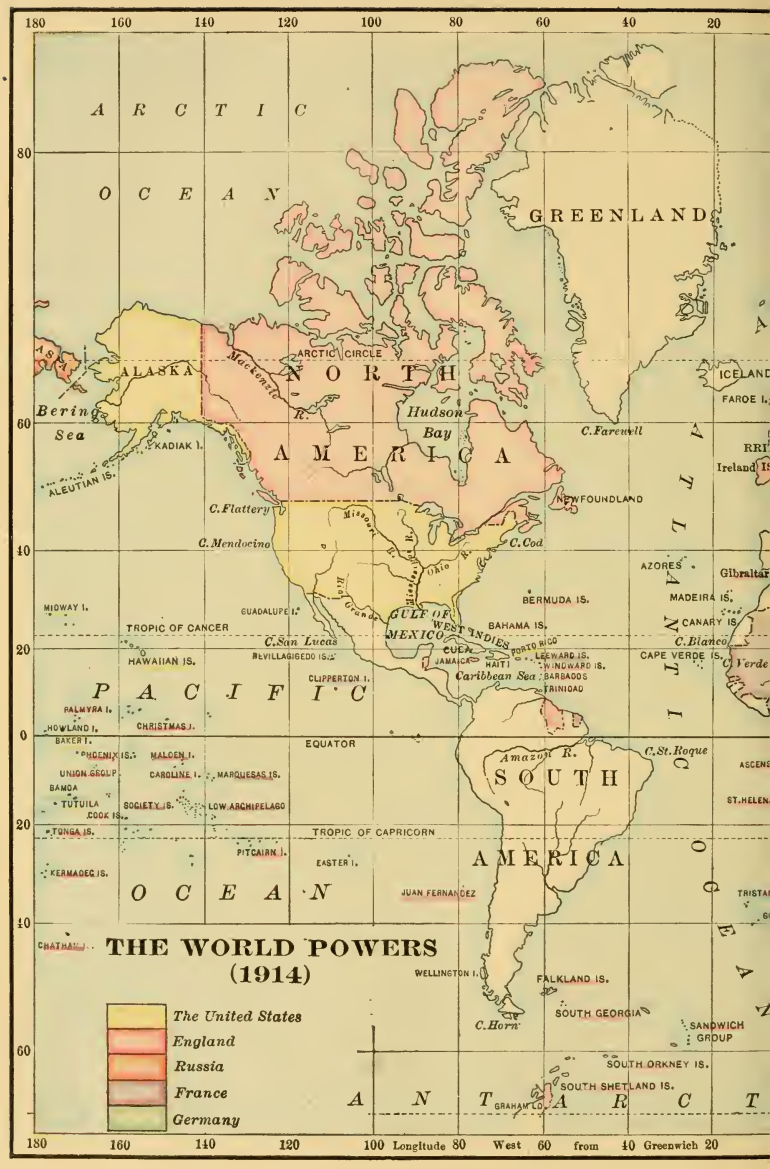
Japan, on the other hand, had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat the world had ever seen. Her leaders were patriotic, honest, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of ardent self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization, Japan was able, at all critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war, when she had rolled back the battle line several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than Japan's whole navy; but (February 8, 1904) Japan struck the first blow, torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers. The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and, to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Korea was swiftly overrun, and, on February 23, its government recognized a Japanese protectorate. The Russians were driven back from the *Yalu* in a great battle, and *Port Arthur* was invested (May 28) by land as well as by sea. Seven months later (January, 1905), that fortress, which had been boastfully declared invulnerable, capitulated, after terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice of life on both sides. Meantime, in September, the Japanese army won a remarkable victory at *Liaou Yang*, and, soon afterward, repulsed a desperate attack, driving the Russians back on Mukden.

The severe northern winter interrupted the campaign; but in March, 1905, the Japanese resumed their advance. The *Battle of Mukden* was the most tremendous military struggle the world had seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battlefront extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed. They lost more than a hundred thousand men, and were driven back on Harbin in disorder. It seemed that Russia would be unable, for that summer at least, to gather another army in the East able to take the field.

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, an attempt had been begun. A huge fleet, far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, set out on the long voyage from the Baltic. By a


THE WORLD POWERS
(1914)
The United States
England
Russia
France
Germany
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
NORTH AMERICA
Bering Sea
Hudson Bay
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Mackenzie R.
KADIAK I.
ALEUTIAN IS.
C. Flattery
C. Mendocino
C. Farewell
NEWFOUNDLAND
C. Cod
ICELAND
FAROE I.
AZORES
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
C. Blanco
CAPE VERDE IS.
BERMUDA IS.
BAHAMA IS.
GULF OF MEXICO
WEST INDIES
PORTO RICO
LEEWARD IS.
WINDWARD IS.
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
JAMAICA
HAITI
CUBA
Caribbean Sea
C. San Lucas
REVILLAGIGEDO IS.
GUADALUPE I.
MIDWAY I.
HAWAIIAN IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
CLIPPERTON I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
PALMYRA I.
HOWLAND I.
CHRISTMAS I.
BAKER I.
PHOENIX IS.
MALDEN I.
UNION GROUP
CAROLINE I.
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOA
TUTUILA
SOCIETY IS.
LOW ARCHIPELAGO
COOK IS.
TONGA IS.
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
PITCAIRN I.
EASTER I.
KERMADEC IS.
CHATHAM I.
JUAN FERNANDEZ
Amazon R.
C. St. Roque
SOUTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
WELLINGTON I.
FALKLAND IS.
C. Horn
SOUTH GEORGIA
SANDWICH GROUP
SOUTH ORKNEY IS.
SOUTH SHETLAND IS.
GRAHAM LD.
ANTARCTIC
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
10
20
60
80
Longitude West from Greenwich

Longitude East from Greenwich

breach of strict neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near Southern China; and in May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in one of the greatest of the world's naval battles.

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, now "offered his good offices" to secure peace; and a meeting of envoys was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire), at which the *Treaty of Portsmouth* was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the Port Arthur branch of her railroad to China, (3) to recognize the Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, — an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875.

868. The most important results of the war were indirect results. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and toward India, as well as in the Far East, and the failure of her despotic government gave opportunity for the beginning of a revolution in society and politics (§ 841). The appearance of Japan, on the other hand, as one of the foremost "World Powers," went far to check the European greed for Asiatic territory. It seems probable that Asia will hereafter be left to the Asiatics. During the great European war of 1914, Japan took Kiau Chau from Germany.

For Further Reading. — Read the excellent chapters on *National Imperialism* in Hayes. For a more detailed explanation of the interaction between trade and imperialism see Paul Reinsch, *World Politics*. Jan Hamilton's *From the Scrap Book of a Staff Officer* gives a vivid account of the military events in the Russian-Japanese War.

CHAPTER LXIV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1871

A. Alliances

869. Intense political and commercial rivalries mark the period between 1871 and the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The objects of strife may be conveniently grouped under two headings, *Imperialism* and the *Eastern Question*. We have seen how the nations of Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century began, as rivals in the world's trade, to seize colonies and trading posts in Africa and Asia, and we have also seen how they stood eying one another greedily and suspiciously as to which was to profit more from the decline and eventual partition of Turkey.

870. The Triple Alliance. — The whole system of alliances as it had existed in the earlier part of the nineteenth century was recast, owing to the advent of two new Powers, *Germany* and *Italy*. Previous to 1871 central Europe consisted of a large number of petty states which no one feared. In that year the strong new German Empire came into existence, which had been made chiefly by military force and relied for its maintenance and prestige on its army and (after a while) on its navy. On account of the harsh terms imposed on vanquished France it had to reckon with the permanent hostility of that country. France was bent upon regaining her lost prestige and upon recovering her lost provinces Alsace-Lorraine. Bismarck, the guiding spirit of the new empire, cast about for allies. He found one in *Austria-Hungary*, and that in spite of her recent defeat at the hands of Prussia (1866). At first he also planned an alliance with Russia, and his efforts seemed for a while suc-

cessful, but in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, the Tsar suffered a diplomatic defeat, and, rightly or wrongly, ascribed it partly to Bismarck. The year after the Congress the alliance with Austria was definitely concluded, and from that moment a German-Russian alliance appeared well-nigh impossible. For Austria and Russia in their foreign policy were so diametrically opposed that membership in the same alliance could never be lasting and sincere.

The reasons for this must be sought in the Balkan Question. We have seen how Russia considered herself the natural heir to decaying Turkey. Formerly Austria, who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries herself had most persistently opposed Mohammedanism, viewed these Russian ambitions rather indifferently. But when in 1878 the Russian victories over the Turk freed most of the Balkan peoples from Turkish rule, and set up independent Balkan states, Austria grew alarmed. For these states arose just across her southern boundaries. Their inhabitants were mostly Slavic in race and sympathy and looked upon Russia as their natural protector. The Tsar and with him the Slavophils were not slow in responding to this sentiment. Now, as the student has learned in the chapter on Austria-Hungary, a large part of that empire is Slavic. Austria's fears seemed, therefore, justified. "If those little nations to the south of our territory achieved their independence with Russia's help, might not their Slavic kinsmen within our realm try to do the same, and that too, with the help of Russia," was the reasoning of the Austrian statesmen. They knew very well that the Austrian Slavs, especially in the Hungarian half of the empire, had many well founded complaints. When, therefore, Bismarck approached Austria with proposals of friendship and alliance he found a ready welcome, and the former enemies became friends, drawn together, not so much by mutual sympathies, as by common political interests.

Three years later *Italy* joined this alliance. She had long

entertained the idea of annexing Tunis, the ancient Carthage, situated just across the narrow strip of the Mediterranean which separates Sicily from Africa. But France crossed her, and in 1881, added Tunis to her own colony Algeria (§ 771). This angered Italy and drove her into Bismarck's arms. Thus, in 1882, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy leagued themselves into a union known as the *Triple Alliance*. But the Alliance was never very popular in Italy. It seemed more natural that Italy should look for friends among her Latin sister nations, France or Spain. Moreover, "Unredeemed Italy" and Italian designs on the eastern Adriatic coast (§ 791) were a source of friction and distrust between herself and Austria.

871. France and Russia. — The formation of the Triple Alliance left out two notable continental Powers, France and Russia. Both had reasons of their own to be hostile to that Alliance and to fear its hostility toward themselves. It surprised no one, therefore, when shortly after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance various signs of friendship and mutual understanding between France and Russia showed that each wished to put an end to its isolation. Bismarck so long as he was in power labored hard to prevent this Dual Alliance, but in vain. Shortly after his resignation it became an accomplished fact. Thus the continent was thrown into two hostile camps, jealously watching each other's slightest move and straining every nerve to increase their armaments to be ready for a possible clash.

872. Recent Changes. — England, for a long while, kept aloof from these continental combinations. In the early eighties she looked with some jealousy and fear upon the swift French advance in North Africa. It was thought that it might endanger her interests in Egypt and the Sudan. When, in 1898, *General Kitchener* had conquered the Sudan (or the upper Nile regions), a French explorer, Colonel Marchand, rapidly

crossed the heart of Africa from the west, and, under orders from the home government, planted the French flag at *Fashoda* in the upper Sudan, before Kitchener could get there. When the news of this reached Paris and London the excitement was intense, and for a short while war seemed inevitable. But wiser counsel prevailed in Paris and the French government gave in. The bitter feeling in France over this disappointment was, however, not so easily allayed.

All was changed when, in 1901, Queen Victoria died and Edward VII came to the throne. The new king was personally fond of France and — averse to the Hohenzollern in Berlin. Skilful statesmen made the most of the situation, and, in 1904, France and England came to a "cordial understanding" (*entente cordiale*) on all outstanding matters of dispute. France was to recognize British interests in Egypt, and England those of France in Morocco, — which country France had begun to penetrate from the Algerian border. The Entente was hailed with delight in France. In addition to her powerful ally in the east she had now the support of the world's greatest naval power.

In England, too, the policy of drawing closer to France was viewed with general satisfaction. Englishmen had begun to see the future enemy in Germany rather than in France. The former seemed to be developing into a dangerous rival in Africa and Asia, more to be dreaded than France. Germany's commercial activity and invasion of English markets threatened England's supremacy in trade. Especially did German enterprise in Asia Minor (§ 789) create ill feeling in England. The estrangement of Germany and Russia had brought about a closer understanding between the Kaiser and the Sultan, and as a consequence German capitalists invested heavily in developing the long neglected regions of Syria and Mesopotamia, and were favored on the part of the Turkish government by numerous concessions and trade privileges. A gigantic scheme, the build-

ing of a railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, created alarm in England, for it would eventually prove a dangerous competitor to British trade routes through the Suez canal to India and the Far East.

In addition to this the German government in the first years of the twentieth century began the construction of a large navy. Before this time the empire possessed a rather insignificant fleet. But from that time on William II in season and out of season insisted that " Germany's future lay on the sea," that " Germany's interests demanded a navy second to none." Large sums were voted for the construction of a powerful battle fleet, and since there was only one strong maritime rival in the field, England considered all these measures as directed against herself. Many utterances of leading men in Germany left no doubt that the new empire meant to enter definitely upon the field of world-politics and to play an important part in the settlement of every international issue. In short, Englishmen saw in German activities the dangers of a prospective world-empire to their already established British world-empire, and, for this reason, tried to strengthen themselves by an understanding with France.

Even before this, England had concluded an alliance with Japan (1902). Then when after the Russian-Japanese War the Russians and the Japanese decided instead of fighting over Manchuria to join together and penetrate it, and so became friends, England, too, made terms with Russia. This seemed almost incredible, for England had long been suspicious of Russian designs upon India (§ 830). Moreover, Russian autocracy was particularly hateful to liberty-loving Englishmen, and London had always been the refuge for Russian political exiles. The incredible happened, however. In 1907 Russia and England settled their boundary disputes north of India and agreed on their respective " spheres of interest " in Persia.

The tension produced by these alignments of the Great Powers

on several occasions very nearly precipitated a world war. Thus, when in 1908 Austria proclaimed the permanent annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (§ 852), Serbia and her powerful friend, Russia, protested energetically and partial mobilization of the armed forces on both sides threatened a general conflict, but at the last moment Russia, overawed by Germany and weakened by domestic disturbances, acquiesced in the annexation.

Another acute crisis grew out of the *Morocco question*. There, as we have seen, by agreement between England and France, the latter was to have a free hand. Rather unexpectedly Germany claimed to have interests there, too. These interests were very slight, but France thus threatened had to agree to a conference at Algeciras (Spain) of all the Great Powers, including the United States. France was given police power in Morocco, but the latter's independence was guaranteed. Frequent disturbances gave France the opportunity to exercise this police power so extensively that soon there was little left of the " independence " of Morocco. In 1911 Germany sent a cruiser to Agadir on the coast of Morocco, as a warning to France to stop. War was very narrowly averted, especially as Great Britain intimated her intention of supporting France. France gave up some of her possession on the Congo to Germany in order to be allowed to continue her occupation of Morocco.

This " Agadir incident " showed how near Europe had come to the brink of war. In Germany an arrogant war party declared it a humiliation for their country, since France was left in sole possession of Morocco, and demanded stronger action in the future. In France and England statesmen were angered at the bold way in which Germany had tried to humble them before the world and rightly claimed that Germany was not entitled to any satisfaction at all. The result was that the nations redoubled their military preparations. To be sure, each side

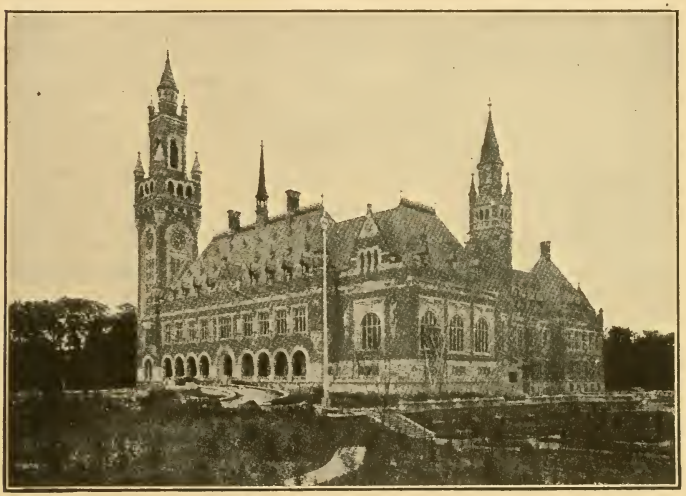
professed to be anxious to maintain peace. Many who saw the enormous progress in armies and navies and pictured to themselves the frightful consequences of war were inclined to think that the very magnitude of such a disaster would restrain the nations from war. But suddenly, in July, 1914, Europe was plunged into the most terrible of wars. We shall study it in a special chapter. All right thinking men hope that it will put an end to the old Europe with its system of hostile alliances and its appeals to the sword.

B. Other Movements

873. Agencies for Peace. — It must not be thought that nothing had been done to prevent the catastrophe of a great war. Quite the contrary. The proximity of the danger led many thinking men of all nations to cast about for means of preserving peace. The first attempt was the International Arbitration movement. By such an arbitration treaty two nations bind themselves to submit differences on a particular point to a committee of expert judges and to abide by their decision. An example of such an agreement is a clause in the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain, whereby the two countries bound themselves to submit boundary disputes between Maine and Nova Scotia to an impartial committee of judges. Since that time hundreds of other cases were settled in this peaceful and sensible manner.

But all these cases concerned some particular dispute regarding which a special treaty had to be negotiated before arbitration could begin. This left much to be desired. The closing years of the nineteenth century saw a widespread agitation for general arbitration treaties by which nations should agree in advance to submit all disputes to a court of arbitrators. The agitation bore some fruit. In 1898 Tsar Nicholas II proposed a great conference of the Powers at the Hague, the

capital of Holland. It was to consider how peace might be maintained indefinitely and how military expenditures could be reduced. It accomplished little with regard to the latter point, owing chiefly to the refusal of Germany to entertain such a proposal. But the conference recognized the right of any nation to offer to mediate between two countries at war. It recommended, further, that nations, unable to come to an agree-



The Hague Peace Palace.

ment on some point, should submit the matter to an impartial international committee of inquiry. Finally the Powers agreed to establish such a Commission at the Hague which would be permanent and be composed of four representatives from each nation. However, the matters to be submitted were to be only those which "involved neither honor nor vital interests." A number of arbitration treaties followed the close of this first Hague Conference, but all excluded these "vital" questions.

And it is precisely these " vital " questions, or rather projects of national selfishness and national aggrandizement, which give rise to wars.

A *second* conference met at The Hague in 1907, in which forty-seven nations were represented. A proposal made by the United States to make the submission of certain matters to the court obligatory was defeated. The pressing question of reducing armaments was answered by the recommendation to the governments " to resume the study of the problem." The principal work of the conference consisted in the acceptance of certain rules by which the actual conduct of war should be regulated; these rules limited the use of submarine mines, improved the lot of war prisoners, and tried to safeguard the rights of neutrals.

When these conferences began it was suggested that the Holy Father, the one great power not identified with any international rivalry, should be represented. But Italy objected, and the suggestion was dropped. Still, if any one could have given prestige and general esteem to the conference, it was the Father of Christendom. He, more than any one else, would have enjoyed the confidence of the nations; for his subjects are everywhere, and he has at heart the welfare of all.

The real difficulty in compulsory arbitration is the absence of an authority strong enough to enforce the decisions of such an international court. In medieval times the pope sometimes compelled kings and nations to keep within law and justice by his spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict. But since European nations in the sixteenth century broke away from the authority of the Holy See they recognize no common superior in things spiritual and moral, no really binding law, except that of their own selfish interests.

874. Democracy. — A predominant characteristic of modern times has been the growth of democracy. The desire for a

greater coöperation of the people in the government, quite common in the Middle Ages, received in modern times its greatest impulse in the French Revolution. Ever since that tremendous event the struggle against absolutism of monarchs or the privileges of classes has spread from country to country until we have at present everywhere either government by the elected representatives of the people or at least constitutions limiting the power of sovereigns. As late as 1832 England, Norway, and Switzerland were the only genuine democracies in the Old World. Since that time constitutional government granting more or less power to the people has been introduced in all western Europe. In the first years of the twentieth century Russia, Turkey, Persia, and even old unchangeable China, have been converted into republics or limited monarchies. On the whole, it is better so. Democracy is more suited to our age with its wide diffusion of knowledge, its general education, its facility of keeping oneself informed of the current events. But it would be folly to deny that democracy as practiced in many states has its dangers as well as its advantages. The intricate character of modern, and especially of international, politics makes it increasingly difficult for the people to take an intelligent part in public affairs or even to form a correct judgment of the actions of their elected representatives. Thus the masses easily become the victims of unscrupulous leaders and of an "inspired" press. Liberty, too, is sometimes mistaken for license, for contempt of all, even spiritual, authority. Modern Socialism has largely appropriated the watchwords of liberty and equality, only to use them against all legitimate authority.

And so the world is in sore need of recognized authority as well as true liberty. It imagines that it has gained wondrous freedom by the religious revolt of the sixteenth century and the political revolution of the eighteenth. Instead we now frequently behold rebellion against God and His law, coupled with a slavery to greed and unchecked passions. And this latter

slavery naturally leads to the oppression of the weak and less aggressive element in society. Thus unrestricted liberty is the greatest enemy of true liberty. The modern world has strayed far from God, and only a return to Him can remedy the evils from which it suffers and insure the continued possession of true liberty and true happiness.

CHAPTER LXV

THE GREAT WAR

A. Outbreak of the Great War

875. Despite the strained relations between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente there appeared, in the beginning of 1914, a few hopeful signs pointing to a lessening of international hard feeling. Both in England and in Germany it was realized by leading men that the interests of their respective countries demanded a peaceful settlement of outstanding difficulties. The question of the Bagdad railroad (§ 872) and of the development of Asia Minor were on the point of being adjusted, and a beginning was made in negotiating an agreement for mutual limitation of armaments. It almost seemed as if the English people had come to accept the idea of a strong German navy and as if the Germans had learned to appreciate the reasons why the British navy must be supreme. But the hopes built on these negotiations were rudely shattered by the sudden outbreak of the Great War (1914–1918).

876. The Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. — On June 28, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of Emperor Francis Joseph and heir to the Hapsburg throne, was murdered, together with his wife, at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The crime caused sorrow and deep indignation in Austria-Hungary. Many hopes had been built on the murdered prince. His manly character and solid piety endeared him to the Catholic population, while his vigorous patriotism, energy, and administrative ability seemed to guarantee the continued existence of the Dual Monarchy. Moreover, he was believed to favor a special project which would, it was hoped, apply a radical cure to the

racial difficulties of Austria-Hungary. The project was to change the Dual Monarchy into a Triple Monarchy in which the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatians and the Slovenes would enjoy autonomy similar to that of the Magyars.

To him, however, was attributed the hostile attitude of Austria against Serbia since 1908. The Serbs, at any rate, considered Ferdinand their special enemy and an obstacle to the realization of their national aspirations. From 1908 to 1914 they organized secret societies and conducted a propaganda in Bosnia for the purpose of fostering in that province a movement for annexation to Serbia. Austria's refusal, in 1912 (§ 853), of a Serbian harbor on the Adriatic served only to intensify Serbian hatred of Austria.

An inquiry into the murder of the archduke, set on foot by the Austrian government, developed the facts that the assassins (two attempts had been made by two different persons) were natives of Bosnia but members of a Serbian secret society, founded for the purpose of carrying on a pro-Serb propaganda, — that they were instigated by officials of this society who were at the same time Serbian state officials. This caused the Austrian government to charge the Serbian *government* with complicity in the murder, though it failed to furnish proof.

877. The Austrian Ultimatum. — For three weeks after the crime of Sarajevo the Austrian government remained silent. It is now known, however, that drastic action against Serbia was planned and that Germany, Austria's ally, gave assurance of full support of any measure Austria saw fit to take. On July 23, the latter presented an ultimatum to Serbia, couched in the most peremptory terms.[1] It stated that Austria had been compelled to abandon her attitude of patient forbearance, to put an end to the intrigues which formed a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the monarchy, and to demand effective

[1] See full text in Holt and Chilton, p. 543.

30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
ARCTIC
Reikiavik
ICELAND
(To Denmark)
ARCTIC CIRCLE
LOFODEN IS.
FAROE IS.
(To Denmark)
SHETLAND IS.
Trondhjem
NORWAY
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
Bergen
CHRISTIANA
Belfast
Glasgow
EDINBURGH
BRITISH ISLES
Dublin
Cork
Manchester
Liverpool
Birmingham
WALES
NORTH SEA
Gothenburg
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
DENMARK
Hamburg
NETHERLANDS
THE HAGUE
Amsterdam
LONDON
Antwerp
BELGIUM
English Channel
BRUSSELS
Cologne
Leipzig
Dresden
Havre
Frankfort
PARIS
Loire R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Prague
Danube R.
Munich
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
FRANCE
Geneva
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Bordeaux
Lyons
Milan
Venice
Trieste
Oporto
Douro R.
Monaco
Genoa
Po R.
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
MADRID
Tagus R.
SPAIN
Marseilles
Rhone R.
Barcelona
CORSICA
Adriatic Sea
BOSNIA
BELGRADE
Valencia
Guadalquivir R.
MINORCA
SARDINIA
ROME
Naples
CETINJE
DURAZZO
BALEARIC IS.
Malaga
Gibraltar
(To England)
MEDITERRANEAN
Palermo
SICILY
Fez
Algiers
Tunis
AFRICA
MALTA
(To England)
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich 20

30
40
50
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70
80
OCEAN
Tundras
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Pechora R.
Ob R.
ASIA
White Sea
Archangel
Dwina R.
Tobolsk
Lake Omega
Lake Ladoga
Perm
Gulf of Finland
ST. PETERSBURG
Volga R.
Kazan
Kama R.
Riga
RUSSIA
Dwina R.
Moscow
Orenburg
Ural R.
Saratof
ARAL SEA
Kief
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Volga R.
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Don R.
Sea of Azof
Odessa
Bessarabia
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
BUCHAREST
Baku
BLACK SEA
Tiflis
CONSTANTINOPLE
Adrianople
TRANSCAUCASIA
Trebizond
TURKISH EMPIRE
Smyrna
ATHENS
CRETE
CYPRUS
(To England)
EUROPE
in 1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

guarantees from the Serbian government. To give such effective guarantee of good behavior Serbia was asked to suppress anti-Austrian publications and societies, to dismiss such officials as the Austrian government would charge with anti-Austrian propaganda, "to accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government for the suppression of the subversive movements directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy," and to signify unconditional acceptance of these and other demands within forty-eight hours. Serbia agreed to all these demands, except to that of admitting Austrian officials to participate in the Serbian investigation, and offered to submit even this point to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of the representatives of the Great Powers. Austria-Hungary at once severed diplomatic relations with Serbia and, July 28, declared war.

878. As soon as the Austrian ultimatum became known the statesmen and diplomats of the Great Powers made frantic efforts to bring about a settlement without recourse to arms. They at once realized that Serbia would not accept its harsh terms and that Russia, the traditional champion of the Balkan states against Austria, would stand by Serbia. Between the publication of the ultimatum and the declaration of war the diplomatic efforts of England and France were directed towards mitigating Austria's attitude. But the government at Vienna insisted that the matter concerned Austria and Serbia alone and that the other Powers had no business to interfere. In this contention she was strongly supported by Germany. While England and France urged international settlement, Germany proposed that all should endeavor to "localize" the conflict, that is, that England and France should use their good offices in Petrograd to prevent Russia from coming to Serbia's assistance. She refused, however, to counsel moderation in Vienna. *Such a policy, in view of the existing alliances and understandings, meant risking a world war.* The leaders of Germany

undoubtedly realized this, but they believed themselves strong enough to face the ultimate issue with confidence. Just at the moment Germany was ahead of her rivals in the race for armaments. Russia and France had recently introduced military reforms, but the details had not yet been carried out. The chances of recovering her dominant position in Europe, so seriously weakened by the formation of the Triple Entente, seemed fairly favorable.

879. Thus the Austro-Serbian dispute was permitted to develop into a world war. As soon as Austria declared war on Serbia, Russia began a rapid mobilization, and Germany, interpreting this to be a menace to herself, *declared war on Russia*, August 1. Then she demanded of *France*, Russia's ally, what she proposed to do and gave her eighteen hours to reply. The French government returned an evasive answer and ordered a general mobilization. Thereupon Germany declared war on France, August 3.

Germany's military leaders, who for years had considered the possibility of war simultaneously on the eastern and western frontiers, had planned first to defeat France and then to turn with their full force against the mightier but slower armies of Russia. In order to avoid the loss of time which the forcing of the strong line of fortresses along the eastern boundary of France would have entailed, the German general staff, on the mere ground of expediency and in order to strike at France more quickly, chose to disregard the solemn obligation, entered into in 1839, of respecting the neutrality of *Belgium*. Numerous strategic railroads converging toward the Belgian boundary had long ago awakened suspicions of Germany's plans. And these suspicions proved correct. On August 2 Germany issued an ultimatum to Belgium giving her twelve hours to decide whether she would permit the German troops to cross Belgian territory on their way to France. If she consented, Germany promised to respect her sovereignty and territorial integrity; if not, she would be

treated as a hostile state. The Belgian government replied in a dignified manner that Germany together with the other Powers had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and the Belgian forces would resist any attempt to violate it. On August 4 German troops invaded Belgian soil.

From the beginning of the war it seemed very unlikely that *England* should not be drawn into the conflict. Her sympathies and her interests alike lay on the side of France. Already on August 2 *Sir Edward Grey*, the British secretary of foreign affairs, warned the German government that England could not tolerate an attack on the French coast. Two days later when the German note to Belgium became known Sir Edward Grey sent an ultimatum to Berlin demanding respect for Belgium's neutrality. On the same day, however, German troops crossed the Belgian frontier, the British ambassador in Berlin was recalled, and hostilities began. In the last interview of the British ambassador with the German chancellor, *Bethmann-Hollweg*, the latter remarked that England ought not to enter war just for the word "neutrality," a word which in wartime had so often been neglected, — just "for a scrap of paper." This contemptuous reference to solemn international obligation did much to estrange popular opinion everywhere from Germany.

Japan, England's ally, soon followed with a declaration of war against Germany, but after having taken the German colony of Kiau Chau practically desisted from further military operations. *Turkey*, early in November, 1914, joined Germany and Austria. *Italy* declared herself neutral despite her membership in the Triple Alliance. That alliance, she insisted, obliged her to assist the Central Powers only if they were attacked. But in the present war they were the aggressors.

880. The Conflict Widens. — Thus within three months the Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, were face to face with a coalition of Russia, France, England, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro (who made Serbia's cause her own), and

Japan. Germany and England, however, were on all sides recognized as the leading antagonists.

Italy had declared herself neutral because she realized that her entrance into the war on the side of the Central Powers exposed her long coast line to the combined attacks of the English and French fleet, that it would paralyze her commerce and endanger her colonies. As the war progressed the Allied Powers made every effort to bring Italy into the war on their side. For a long while the Italian government resisted, but popular clamor and the hope of obtaining the " unredeemed " provinces from Austria (§ 791) finally induced Italy to enter into a formal alliance with the Entente Powers and to declare war on Austria, May 23, 1915. The formal break with Germany followed later.

In the *Balkans* the outbreak of the Great War aroused the national passions to the highest pitch. With Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey involved, every state felt that sooner or later it would be drawn in, too, and that the results would be all important for its future. The bitterness between Serbia and Bulgaria which was the fruit of the treaty of Bucharest (§ 854) finally determined the *Bulgarians* to cast in their lot with the Central Powers, October, 1915. In Roumania the diplomacy of the Entente Powers was more successful. Roumania like Italy coveted a part of the Austrian territory. The rich province of Transylvania bordering on Roumania is partly inhabited by people of Roumanian speech. In the hope of obtaining this territory *Roumania*, on August 27, 1916, declared war on Austria-Hungary.

B. The Course of the War

881. The Western Front to 1917. — The main forces of the Germans advanced into France in three divisions: One marched through Belgium, another through Luxemburg towards Verdun, and a third from Metz towards Nancy. The little

Belgian army, however, offered such heroic resistance that the German advance through that country was delayed for ten days. Thus France and England gained time to prepare for the onslaught. But the Belgian fortresses, unsupported as they were by natural barriers, could not long resist the heavy German artillery. After their fall Von Kluck, the able German commander of the western army, rapidly marched towards Paris. But just north of the French capital he swerved east, probably with the intention of enveloping the French and English forces stationed along the Marne River. The second German army had, in the meantime, advanced through Luxemburg and along the valley of the Meuse to join hands with Von Kluck. The French commander-in-chief, *General Joffre*, decided at this point to make a halt and to give battle. It was the famous *battle of the Marne*. Quietly, new forces had been collected on Von Kluck's western flank. That general seems to have underestimated the danger threatening him from these new forces. At any rate, in the terrific fighting during the first days of September, 1914, the extreme right wing of the Germans was the first to give way. As a consequence the whole German army was forced to retreat from the Marne and to take up a strong defensive position on the Aisne River.

After the failure of the Germans to take Paris in their first onrush the Germans transferred their efforts to another field, to the remainder of Belgium. They captured Antwerp, October 10, and soon gained possession of the whole country, except a tiny corner southwest of Ostend. Then they made a desperate attempt to reach Calais on the English Channel. But the Belgians cut the dikes and flooded the lowlands along the coast, while the Allied armies offered strenuous resistance on the Yser River. Calais was never taken.

Meanwhile very harsh treatment was meted out to the unfortunate Belgian population behind the German lines. Huge sums were exacted, civilians were severely punished for resistance

to military authorities, machinery in factories was dismantled and partly carried off to Germany. In Louvain the Germans alleged that civilians had shot upon German soldiers and in retaliation laid part of the city in ashes. This treatment of the helpless people aroused everywhere great bitterness against Germany and her methods of warfare.

After the failure to reach Paris and Calais the two opposing armies intrenched themselves on a line extending from the North Sea near Ostend to the Swiss border in southern Alsace. This line remained more or less the same until 1917. Costly attempts to break through were made on both sides, but without decisive results. Thus, late in autumn, 1915, the English under Sir John French after terrific fighting gave up forcing the German lines near *Arras*. From February to July, 1916, the German Crown Prince sacrificed thousands of men in a fruitless attempt to take the strong French fortress of *Verdun*. Soon afterwards, July–November, 1916, the Allies using a new type of armored automobile, the so-called "tanks," launched a violent drive along the *Somme River*. They merely succeeded in bending back the German lines a few miles. In these and other drives both sides fought with the utmost bitterness and made use of all the means of destruction that modern science could devise. The losses in killed and maimed went into the millions, while the definite results were insignificant.

882. The Eastern Front to 1917. — If the German commanders counted on a slow mobilization and advance of the Russian armies, they were utterly mistaken. Already in the first half of August, 1914, the Russians in large numbers invaded East Prussia and rapidly overran that province. For a short while it seemed as if nothing would impede their march into the very heart of the empire. But towards the end of August fortune turned against them; they were severely defeated in the battle of *Tannenberg*. In September another Russian army suffered disaster in the same region, at the time when the Germans

themselves were checked on the Marne. In these operations *Von Hindenburg*, a retired German general called back to active service, held the chief command and, owing to his successes against the Russians, became the most popular leader in Germany. His victories, however, were made possible by the withdrawal of large forces from the western front.

The main attacks of the Russians were delivered against Austria. They overran almost the whole of Galicia and, during the winter of 1915, made fierce attempts to pass the Carpathians. They failed, however, and hundreds of thousands of lives were sacrificed in vain. In the spring, 1915, the Central Powers prepared for a decisive blow against Russia. By concentrating enormous masses of troops and artillery in eastern Galicia on the Dunajec River they were able to deal a terrific blow to the Russian forces and to break through their lines (May 2). Soon the entire Russian army from the Baltic Sea to the boundaries of Roumania gave way and started on a precipitate retreat. The whole of Russian Poland, most of Galicia, and the Baltic province of Courland were evacuated by the Russians. Except for a few local successes the Russian army had to be content with holding the long line extending from the Gulf of Riga to Roumania.

Unable to achieve any decisive results, Tsar Nicolas seems to have sought peace with the Central Powers. But in March, 1917, a secretly organized revolution broke out, declared the Tsar deposed, and proclaimed the Republic. For some time the control of affairs lay in the hands of the more moderate Socialists, led by Kerensky. They attempted to continue the war, but the revolutionary spirit weakened discipline to such an extent that the Germans advanced almost at will. Finally, in November, 1917, the Kerensky government was overthrown by the extreme Socialists (*Bolsheviks*), who repudiated Russia's obligations to the Allies and concluded peace with the Central Powers. But while fighting at the front ceased the Bolshevist

rule threw Russia into a chaos of internal strife, anarchy, and famine.

883. Other War Fronts. — The scene of the Austro-Italian war was along the mountainous frontiers of northern and eastern Venetia. Little advance was made on either side until October, 1917, when the Italians were driven back from the *Isonzo* River and the Austrians invaded Venetia as far as the Piave River. When Turkey entered the war the Allies made an attempt to strike at the heart of the Ottoman Empire by forcing the straits of the *Dardanelles* and storming Constantinople. The Turks, well supplied with German officers and equipment, defended themselves so effectively that after heavy losses the Allies were forced to give up the enterprise (December, 1915). Better results awaited the English troops operating in *Mesopotamia*. After some initial reverses they succeeded, in 1917, in ascending the Euphrates and in occupying the important city of Bagdad. The German colonies in Africa and elsewhere, cut off as they were from assistance by the mother country, one after another fell into the hands of the Allies.

Until 1918, the fortunes of war in the *Balkans* favored the Central Powers. At first Serbia was quite able to defend her territory, but, in 1915, the Austrian and German troops overran Serbia and Montenegro from the north, while a Bulgarian army invaded it from the south. The two joined hands and thus opened free communication between Turkey and her allies in the north. The disastrous end of the Allies' expedition to the Dardanelles was in part the result of their failure to give timely assistance to Serbia. Roumania, too, almost immediately after her entrance into the war shared the fate of Serbia (December, 1916). Thus the Central Powers, in 1917, controlled an area which extended from the North Sea and France to Riga and the eastern boundary of the old kingdom of Poland, and from the Baltic Sea and Mesopotamia.

884. America Enters the War. — Had the war been confined to the operations of the armies it might never have extended beyond Europe and her colonies. It was the war at sea that raised the chief problems for the world at large and in particular for the United States. Very soon after the outbreak of hostilities the Allied navies swept the German commerce off the sea. The Germans were helpless against the might of the British fleet, except for the recently invented and rapidly improved submarine. It was easy for these elusive boats to evade the British ships guarding the exits from the North Sea and to sink vessels of the Allies, and the German military authorities were determined not to be hampered by any moral considerations in the use of this weapon.

General Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American forces in France.

Making use of certain questionable features of the English blockade of German commerce the Germans established a war zone around England within which zone all enemy merchant vessels were to be sunk, whether it was always possible to save the passengers and crews or not. This was clearly a violation of international law, which permitted the sinking of merchant vessels only after all persons on board had been taken off. On February 15, 1915, the German submarines began their opera-

tions along the English and Irish coast, sometimes giving an opportunity to crew and passengers to take to the small boats, but frequently sinking them without warning and even at times shelling their helpless occupants. Thus, on May 7, the great English liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed without warning. Nearly 1200 lives of men, women, and children were lost, over a hundred of whom were Americans. This atrocious deed excited a storm of indignation, not only in England, but also in America. President Wilson protested energetically against the violation of the right of American citizens to travel in safety on merchant vessels of belligerents. After the exchange of several notes and after vain attempts of the German government to evade a definite promise, an apparent settlement was reached when Germany promised that henceforth merchant ships should not be sunk without warning. It demanded, however, as a condition for keeping this engagement that the United States should coerce England into strict observance of international law. The President declined to accept such a condition, and there the matter rested for some time.

But in January, 1917, Germany suddenly proclaimed that she would resume her unrestricted submarine warfare and sink all vessels bound for any harbor of the Allied countries. On February 1 her submarines began their activity and many vessels were sunk in the very first days. The President of the United States at once broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. He then summoned a special session of Congress and asked for a declaration of a state of war with Germany. Both Houses by large majorities passed this declaration (April 6, 1917).

The President had shown great patience before he determined upon this momentous step, but finally realized that national interest and national honor alike required America to bear no longer with German insolence and provocation. Americans had gradually reached the conviction that they could not remain indifferent to the outcome of the gigantic conflict beyond the

seas. A German victory, they saw, would mean the establishment of Germany as a world power, strong enough to impose her will on the democratic nations of the West. Such a world power, governed as it was by ambitious and unscrupulous militarists, would constitute a constant menace to other nations and eventually endanger the security of the United States. Americans saw, too, that defeat of Germany was in the interest of mankind in general, since a government which so openly violated the principles of law and honor could be made to respect them only by forcible means. Not a little fuel was added to the flame of indignation against Germany by the discovery of numerous German plots contrived for the purpose of stirring up labor troubles in American munition factories and of spreading ideas hostile to America's participation in the war. The American government even obtained possession of a note of the German Secretary of Foreign Affairs in which he instructed the German ambassador in Mexico to propose an alliance with Mexico and Japan against the United States and to offer American territory if they would attack the United States. In Germany, on the other hand, the press and the government stirred up ill feeling against America, because of American exports of supplies and munitions to the Allied countries. Although this was perfectly legitimate and has often been practiced by those who were in a position to do so, the Germans declared this unneutral and a proof of American unfairness.

When, therefore, Congress declared war it decided to make every effort toward bringing the conflict to a speedy and victorious end. Large sums of money were voted, obligatory military service was introduced, while patriotic citizens everywhere heartily coöperated with the government in creating and supporting a vast armed force worthy of America's strength and greatness.

885. Meanwhile the German submarine campaign gradually proved a failure. — True, the Allies were at times hard

pressed for the tonnage necessary for providing their civilian population with food, but the operations of their armies were never hampered for lack of ammunition and supplies. German statesmen had confidently boasted that the submarine in a few months would bring England, their principal enemy, to her knees. Instead, Germany had now to face the mighty army and the almost unlimited resources of America. The latter were at once put at the disposal of the Allies. The building of new ships was accelerated while at the same time the methods of thwarting the submarine were constantly improved. The hopes built on America animated the people of the Allied nations with new courage and banished all thought of defeat. Moreover, the public utterances of President Wilson made them see the gigantic conflict in a new light. It was to be not merely a war waged for their own immediate rights and interests, but a struggle for a new order of things in which all peoples should be emancipated from fear of unjust attacks by their neighbor, of rival schemers after world empire. Henceforth no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own policy. It was thus to do away with the chief cause of wars and in that sense be "a war on war."

Gradually the great American army with its perfect equipment was being landed on French soil and soon made its presence felt. Evidently with the intention of preventing concerted action and of defeating if possible the Allied forces before the Americans were completely in the field the Germans once more launched a terrific drive in northern France and Belgium, chiefly toward Amiens and Arras, March and April, 1918. After some initial successes it came to a halt without achieving anything decisive. In July another attempt farther to the east carried the German troops once more to the river Marne. This was their last success. The command of the Allied armies and the American troops had in the meantime been unified. *General*

(later *Marshal*) *Foch*, a French soldier of brilliant talent and great experience, was made commander-in-chief of all the forces on the western front. The effects of this unified command soon showed themselves. With masterly strategy Foch handled the vast armies at his disposal, now delivering a blow at one point and then suddenly at another. Thus he never gave the enemy the chance which he so often used before, of leisurely concentrating large forces at a desired point. In this last and decisive phase of the Great War an important share of the fighting fell to the American troops, and they more than fulfilled the hopes built on them. At *Château Thierry* on the Marne they brought the last German advance to a standstill, to turn it almost at once into a precipitate retreat. To the east and west of Reims, near *St. Mihiel* and in the *Argonne Forest*, they took positions that for almost four years had withstood every assault. Friend and foe alike were in admiration of the skill and heroic courage displayed by these troops who but a few months before had been without training and experience. America gratefully and proudly rejoiced over the noble deeds of her sons, who proved that they could be relied on to defend the rights and honor of their country in any emergency.

Soon the strongly fortified German lines began to crumble. By October the German armies had everywhere abandoned the positions held for the last four years. Previously, in September, 1918, Bulgaria had surrendered unconditionally to an army advancing from Salonica. Then the Turk gave up the hopeless struggle. Austria followed in October after a disastrous defeat by the Italian troops. Finally, in November, Germany asked for a cessation of hostilities. On the 11th of that month she accepted an *armistice* under conditions which made it impossible for her to resume the struggle. Two days previously revolution in Germany forced the emperor to abdicate and to seek a refuge in Holland. At his fall practically all the German princes were compelled to hand over the government

of their states to hastily formed committees, made up mostly of Socialists.

886. Peace Proposals. — On different occasions during the bloody struggle more or less sincere attempts were made to bring about peace. An offer of Germany, in December, 1916, to meet her enemies in a conference was rejected by them, as manifestly insincere since it failed to state anything definite on such vital points as the evacuation of Belgium and other invaded territories. Shortly afterwards President Wilson attempted to elicit a clear statement of their aims from both sides. Germany's answer again was too vague to form the basis of further negotiations. There was, however, a widespread and intense desire for peace among the German people; it found expression in a resolution of the Reichstag, July, 1917, which favored a peace without annexations or economic restrictions. In August of the same year Pope Benedict XV sent forth a peace message in which he proposed a peace without indemnities, the evacuation of invaded territories, and negotiations concerning the boundary disputes between Austria and Italy and between France and Germany. Belgium should be restored and given full political economic independence. Germany's answer, though friendly in tone, again avoided a precise statement of its attitude toward the question of Belgium. President Wilson replied in effect that the pope's proposal would mean a return to conditions as they existed before the war. This, he said, was impossible, for the word of the "present rulers" of Germany could not be taken as a guarantee of anything that was to endure. Here, then, was an unmistakable demand to the German people to change their government, and it seems certain that it helped to bring about the revolution of November, 1918. On January 18, 1918, the President stated a program of world peace which embraced fourteen points. The chief of these were: no secret international understandings or treaties, absolute freedom of navigation of the seas in peace and war, removal of economic

barriers, reduction of armaments, impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, the restoration of Belgium, righting the wrong done to France in 1871 by the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Finally, a *general association of nations* was to be formed, " under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike." When the armistice was signed it was agreed by all that these fourteen points and other similar declarations of the President of the United States should form the basis of the peace negotiations.

887. Peace. — Soon after the signing of the armistice the President of the United States and the delegates of the Allies met in Paris to settle the various problems arising out of the war. They first agreed on the terms to be imposed on Germany. These were handed to the German delegates on May 7, 1919. After a vote taken in the National Assembly Germany accepted these terms on June 28. The chief provisions of the treaty may be summarized under the following heads :

(1) Territorial and political terms. Alsace-Lorraine is restored to France. France, too, temporarily occupies the Saar basin, that is, the mining region north of Lorraine. After fifteen years its definite political status is to be decided by a vote of the inhabitants. Two small districts between Holland and Luxemburg are to be ceded to Belgium. The city and harbor of Danzig is separated from Germany and put under international control. A strip of land along the Vistula becomes part of the new Poland. The province of Posen, parts of East Prussia and Silesia are given to Poland, either unconditionally or after the taking of a plebiscite. Likewise, the vote of the people concerned is to decide the allegiance of the Danish parts of Schleswig. All colonies and "spheres of influence" outside of Europe are to be surrendered to the Allies. (2) Military terms. Conscription within the boundaries of Germany is forbidden. The army is reduced to 200,000 men, and fortifications near the boundaries are to be destroyed. The navy is almost entirely to be surrendered to the Allies. (3) Economic terms. Germany accepts full responsibility for all damages caused to her former opponents. Besides handing over most of her merchant ships to re-

place those sunk by her submarines, she is to devote her resources to new construction. Commissions appointed by the Allies will from time to time decide the sums Germany is to pay to make good the damages caused by her armies. Other provisions prevent Germany from discriminating against her former opponents by high tariffs and guarantee to them freedom of transit through German territory.

The Congress of Paris has still many questions to settle which at the present writing have not yet found a solution. No matter what the outcome will be, to the United States belongs the proud distinction of having brought the Great War to a successful issue after having drawn the sword not for any private gain but to vindicate her ideals of justice and freedom for all.

BOOKLIST

Modern Catholic books are marked with *. Those not thus marked are recommended for their good treatment of some political or economic subject, though they are not always reliable on religious topics.

With a few exceptions only such books are here mentioned as seem suitable for high school libraries. The prices given are to be considered as only approximate, as they are subject to frequent changes.

A. Source Material

Joinville, *Memoirs of St. Louis IX* (Various editions).

Chronicles of the Crusades. Bohn Library. $1.50.

Contains among other accounts Joinville's Memoirs of St. Louis (see above). An appendix gives extracts from an Arabian account of the crusade of Louis IX.

Giles, J. A. (Editor), *The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England.* In the same volume: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* With notes, etc. Bohn Library. $1.50.

St. Bede died in 735. His Ecclesiastical History is at the same time the oldest history of the English nation.

Lanier (Editor), *The Boy's Froissart.* Scribners. $2.50.

Froissart (died 1404) graphically chronicles events of the fourteenth century, of many of which he was eyewitness. He is often frivolous and not always unbiased.

Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne.* American Book Co. $0.30.

Einhard (or Eginhard) was Charlemagne's friend and secretary.

Pollen, John H., S.J., *Acts of the English Martyrs Hitherto Unpublished.* Benziger. $1.50.

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INDEX

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The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

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Aachen (äĸ'en), see *Aix La Chapelle*.
Aargau (är'gou), 816.
Abbot, term explained, 59.
Abdul-Hamid (äb-dōōl-hä-mēd'), 851.
Ăb'e-lärd, Peter, 272 note.
Absentee landlords, 392, 738.
Absolutism in government, in England under Norman kings, 160; under Tudors and Stuarts, 301, 424; growth of, in France, 296; in Spain, 318; in Germany, 362; general in sixteenth century, 475; decline, see *Liberalism*; surviving in Europe in Albania and Montenegro, 855; vanishing even in Asia, 874.
Abyssinia, Italy in, 825.
Accident Insurance, see *Social Insurance*.
Accolade, 136.
Acre, 243, 245.
Act of Settlement (English), 460.
Act of Supremacy (English), 372, 385.
Act of Uniformity (English), 456.
Act of Union (England and Scotland), 486.
Adalbert, St., 247.
Adelheid, St. (äd'el-hīt), 201.
Adrian IV, Pope, 208, note 1.
Adrianople, in Balkan War, 1813, 853, 854.
Äf-ghän-is-tan', 863.
Africa, northern, prosperity under Romans, 26; Moors in, 72; Europe expands into, 861–862; see *Algeria*, *Egypt*, etc.
Agincourt (äj'in-kōrt, or, Fr., ä-zhäñ-koor'), battle of, 294.
"Agreement of the People," 448, 453.
Agriculture, monastic, in seventh century, 60; in Charlemagne's day, 89; in age of Feudalism, 129; revolution in, in England, eighteenth century, 646; in France, 770; in Russia, 832.
Aidan, St., 112.
Aix La Chapelle (āks-lä-shä-pĕl'), capital of Charlemagne's empire, 91.
Äl'aric, 51.
Alban, St., 109.
Albania, 320; kingdom of, 854.
Albert the Great, Bl., 273.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Albigĕn'sēs, 193.
Albrecht of Brandenburg, 347, note, 354; of Brandenburg-Ansbach, 370.
Älcälä', University of, 350.
Älemanni (-än'-nē), 52, 62; conquered by Clovis, 69; see Suabia.
Alexander the Great, 16.
Alexander III, Pope, 170, 208.
Alexander VI, 348.
Alexander I, Tsar, and Napoleon, 598, 599, 601; and Congress of Vienna, 615; and Holy Alliance, 619, 4; policy, 839.
Alexander II, Tsar, 839; **A. III**, 839.
Alexandria, in Egypt, under Rome, 27, 29; Patriarchate of, 41, note.
Alfred the Great, 115.
Algē'ria and France, 638, 666, 771.
Äl-häm'brä, 74.
Ällāh, explanation of term, 71.
Alphonso XII, 802; **A. XIII**, 802.
Alsäce', 197; acquisition by French begun, 366, 412; completed, 480; see *Lorraine;* Prussian demands for, 618; lost by France, 713; recovered by France, 887.
Alva, Duke of, 402.
Ä-mä-de'o, prince, 801.
America, dišcovery, 344; expansion of Europe into, 469 ff.; Spain in, (405) 470; France in, 472; England in, 473, 474; and European wars in eighteenth century, 482, 495–497; and Holy Alliance, 633; and the Industrial Revolution, 647-652; and world politics, 864; in Great War, 884 ff.
American Revolution, 497; and French Revolution, 507; and English Reform, 716; effect on Ireland, 739.
Amiens (äm-yăñ'), Peace of, 586.
Ancient History, term explained, page 1.
Angelico, Fra, 343.
An'ge-vins, Kings of England, see *Plantagenet;* Kings of the Two Sicilies, 216, 298.
Angles, in Britain, 52, 110.
Anglican Orders, 385, note.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the, 263.
Anjou (än-shoō), see *Angevins.*
Anne, Queen of England, 464, 465, 482.
Anne of Cleves, 378.
Anselm, St., 280.
Ansgar, St., 102.
Antioch, Patriarchate of, 41, note; conquered in Crusades, 238.
Aquitaine (äk-wĭ-tān'), in Merovingian kingdom, 73; English, 167; won back by France, 285, 297; Dukedom of, 188, 280 ff., 284.
Arabesques, term explained, 74.
Arabia, before Mohammed, 71; see *Saracen, Mohammedan.*
Arabic Numbers, 74.
Aragon, origin, 318; acquires Sicily, 216; united with Castile, 318.
Arbitration, between nations, 873.
Arc, Joan of, 294, 295.
Archbishops, origin, 41, note.
Architecture, feudal, 126, 128; Mohammedan, 74; Basilica style, Byzantine, Romanesque (Norman), 277; Gothic, 278; Renaissance, 343.
Ärgonne' Forest, 885.
Ā'rĭanism, 41; adopted by Teutons, 42, 51.
Ā'rius, 41.
Är'istŏtle, 14; authority in Middle Ages, 271.
Arkwright, Richard, 644.
Ärmä'dä, Spanish, 404, 478.
Armaments, increase after 1870, 779, 872.
Armenia, reconquered by Greek Empire, 235.
Arminianism, 437.
Armor, feudal, 126.
Armō'rica, 111.
Arnold of Brescia (brĕ'shĭä), 208.
Arnulph the Carin'thian, 99, 104, 108.
Arräs', 881, 885.
Arthur, King, Legends of, 116, note.
Ā'ryans, 4.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Aspern, battle of, 603.
Assignat (äs-in-yä′), 550.
Assize of Arms, 168, 182.
Astu'ria, 318.
Athelstan the Glorious, 116.
Athens, under Rome, 29.
Attila, 53.
Augsburg Confession (ougs′-boorg), 367, note; Religious Peace of, 366, 412.
Augustine, St., of Canterbury, 112.
Augustus, Roman Emperor, 19, 23.
Austerlitz (ous′-), battle of, 598.
Australia, becomes English, 497; Commonwealth of, 756.
Austria, foundation of duchy of, 200; given to Hapsburgs, 309; head of Holy Roman Empire, 512; and Turks, 365, 412, 501–503; and Switzerland, 314; and Burgundy with Netherlands, 316; acquires Hungary and Bohemia, 367; and Frederic the Great, 494, 496; system of administration, 500; and the Turks, 501–503; and Poland, 506; and the French Revolution, 554, 557, 559, 580; and Napoleon I, 581 ff.; and Congress of Vienna, 614, see *Metternich*; and Revolution of 1848, 682 ff.; composite nature of empire, 683; crushes Hungary, 685; crushes attempt at German unity, 684; and Bismarck, 703 ff.; Danish War, 704; Six Weeks' War, 705, 706; expelled from Germany, 707; see *Austria-Hungary*.
Austria-Hungary, creation of dual state, 793; government, 794; race question in, 795; manhood suffrage, 796; in the Great War, 876 ff.
Austrian Succession, War of, 494.
Ävärs′, 104.
Avignon (ä′vē-nyoñ), Papacy at, 328; annexed by France, 551.

Babylonians, civilization of, 7, 9.
Bacon, Francis, 388; Roger, friar, 275, 344.
Bägdäd′, Caliphate, 74.
Balance of Power, 476; wars to maintain, 479 ff.
Baldwin of Flanders, king of Jerusalem, 239.
Balkan States, 844 ff.; Turks in, 844; first three to win freedom, 845; "Eastern Question," 846, 849; Russian-Turkish War, 847; Balkan War, 853; see *Greece*, *Albania*, *Bulgaria*, *Montenegro*, *Roumania*, *Serbia*.
Barbarian Invasions: Scythians, 11; Teutons in fourth and fifth centuries (31), 50–55; Huns, 49, 53; Slavs, 49, 53; Hungarians, 49, 108, 199, 200; Mohammedans, 72, 73; Tartars in Age of Crusades, 214; Norse, 101, 102.
"**Barrack Emperors**," 23.
"**Bartholomew's Night**," massacre of, 406.
Bä′sel, Council of, 333.
Bā′sil, St., 59.
Basil II, Greek Emperor, 235.
Bästille (bäs-teel′), fall of, 537.
Bavaria, conquered by Franks, 69, 84; stem duchy of Germans, 197; see *Germany*.
Bayeux (bäi-û′) Tapestry, 132.
Beaton, Cardinal, 393.
Becket, Thomas à, St., 169, 170.
Beet Sugar, 601.
Belgium, part of Burgundian Netherlands, 316; separate group of provinces, 502; overrun by French, 563; annexed to Holland, 615; revolution of 1830, 642; present constitution, 810; kulturkampf, 811; and war of 1914, 879 ff.
Bel'grade, capture of, 503.
Belisarius, 64.
Benedict, St., 59.
Benedict XIII, anti-pope, 333.
Benefice, feudal, 119; plurality of ecclesiastical, 347.
Benefit of Clergy, 143; struggle over, in England, 169, 170.
"**Benevolences**," 302; and Charles I, 431.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Bĕréngar, emperor, 98; king of Italy, 201.
Berlin, and Napoleon I, 599; revolution of 1848, 686; Congress of (1878), 848.
Bernard, St., of Clairvaux, 150 *a*; and Crusades, 240, 242; and Abelard, 272, note.
Bethmann-Hollweg, 880.
Bible, as source of history, 1; Wyclif's translation, 288; polyglot edition of, 350; Luther's German, 359, note; and Henry VIII, 373, note.
Bill of Rights, 460; and results, 462, 463.
Bills, origin of, in parliament, 292, 9.
Bishops, origin of office, 21; during time of later Carolingians, 100; appointment of, 142; revenues of, 142; in the French Constitution of 1791, 551; see *Clergy*.
Bismarck, Otto von, and making of Germany, 703 ff.; and kulturkampf, 782; and German colonies, 789; and Socialism, 785.
Black Death, 286.
Black Hole, at Calcutta, 498.
Black Prince, the, 283, 290.
"**Black Rent**," 307.
Blanc, Louis (bläñ), 668, 670.
Blen'heim (blĕn'im), Battle of, 482.
Blois (blwä), 187.
Blücher (blü'ker), 617.
Boccaccio (bok-kät'sho), 338.
Boers, and England, 755.
Boethius (bo-ē'thee-us), 58.
Bohemia, 103; and Rudolph of Hapsburg, 309; and Hussites, 332, 334, 335; under Charles IV, 311; Revolution of 1848, 683; after '48, 793, 795.
Bo'leslaus (-lous) I, Chrobry, 104.
Boleyn (bool'in), Anne, 372, 378.
Bolingbroke, 520.
Bologna (-on'ya), university of, 267.
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 570, 583; in Italy, 581, 582; overthrows Directory, 585; see *Napoleon*.
Bonaventure, St., 276.
Boniface, St., 76.
Boniface VIII, Pope, 185, 327.
Borodino (-dee'no), battle of the, 610.
Boroughs, origin of, 154.
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 847; to Austria, 848.
Bothwell, Earl of, 394.
Boulanger (boo-läñ-zhā'), 765.
Boulogne (boo-loñ'), Napoleon at, 598.
Bourbon (boor-boñ'), Royal House of, 407 ff.
Bourdaloue (boor-dä-loo'), 485.
Bouvines (boo-veen'), battle of, 213.
Boxers, Chinese, 866.
Boyne, battle of, 467.
Brandenburg (brän'dĕn-boorg), origin, 200; Hohenzollerns in, 333, note; acquisition of Prussia, 370; growth under Great Elector, 412, 493; Elector of, assumes title of King of Prussia, 493; see *Prussia*.
Bré'beuf (brebŏf'), 471.
Bretigny (brĕ-tīn-yē'), peace of, 284.
Bretwaldas, the, 113.
Brian Boru, 102.
Brief, papal, term explained, 141.
Bright, John, 735.
Britain, under Roman Empire, 109; Saxon conquest, 110, 111; Christianized, 112; see *England*.
Brittany, 111 (2), 188, 192.
Bruce, Edward, 305; Robert, 275.
Brunetto, Latini, 275.
Bruno, St., 150 *a*.
Brunswick, Duke of, 560.
Buckingham, Duke of, 430, 431, 432.
Bulgaria, 53; conquered by Greek Empire, 235; by Turks, 319; and Congress of Berlin, 848; and Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, 853–854; and Great War, 880.
Bull, papal, term explained, 141.
Bundesrath (boon'des-rät), German, 775.
Bundschuh (boond-shoo), 361.
Burgundians, 47; invasions by, 51; conquered by Franks, 69.
Burgundy, Carolingian kingdom, 98, 206; later meaning of term, division

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

of Burgundies, 316; Dukedom of Burgundy, 297, 316; County of, 479.
Byron, Lord, and Greek freedom, 634.
Byzan'tĭne Empire; see *Greek Empire*.
Byzantinism, see *Church*.

Cabinet, government, in England, 463–465.
Cæsar, Julius, 19.
Calais (kä-lā'), captured by England, 283; recovered by France, 383; in Great War, 881.
Cā'lĭphs, 72.
Calixtus II, Pope, 229; **C. III**, 320.
Calmar, Union of, 322.
Calonne (kä-lon'), 528.
Calvin, John, and Calvinism, 369, 370; see *Huguenots*, *Presbyterianism*, *Puritanism*.
Campion, Bl. Edmund, 386.
Campo Formio, Peace of, 581.
Canada, Dominion of, 754, 756.
Canals and locks, 646.
Canning, and the New World, 643.
Cannon, first use of, 283.
Canon, term explained, 142, note; Canon Law, 63.
Canossa, Henry IV at, 228; and Bismarck, 783, 784.
Capet (kä-pā'), Hugh, 188; tables of Capetians, 189, 281, note; 407, note.
Capitalism, 655–659.
Capitularies, of Charlemagne, 90.
Capuchins (kap-yu-sheens'), 398.
Carbonari (-nä'ree), 630, 632, 640.
Cardinals, 141, 225, 348.
Carlowitz, Peace of, 503.
Carlsbad (karls'bäd), Decrees of, 627, 635.
Carnot (kär-nō'), 569, 571.
Carolingians, Accession, 77; later Carolingians, 97–100, 188, 197; see *Charlemagne*.
Carrier (kä-rē-ā'), 572.
Carthusians, 150 *a*.
Cartwright, Edmund, 647.
Castile (kas-teel'), 318.
Castles, medieval, 126.
Catacombs, 39.
Cathedral, term explained, 142, note.
Catherine II, of Russia, 491; and Poland, 506; and Jesuits, 523, note; of Aragon, 371 ff.; of Medici, 406.
Catholicism, see *Church*.
Cavaignac (kä-vän-yäk'), 673, 674, 676.
Cavaliers, 442.
Cavour (kä-voor'), 679, 694 ff.
Caxton, Wm., 341.
Celts, 4; in the Roman Empire, 44, 56; in Ireland, 45; and Franks in Gaul, 69; and Anglo-Saxons, 110, 111; see *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brittany*.
Centralization in Government, Roman, 33; English, 157, 160; French in 1798, 513, 514; Napoleon's, 588; French after 1815, 636; Russian, 836.
Cervantes (ser-vän'tes), 138.
Chaldeans (-dee'ans), 7.
Chambord (shäñ-bor'), Count of, 761.
Champagne (shampän'), 188, 192.
Champlain, 471.
Champs de Mars (shŏñ de märce'), Massacre of, 547.
Chapter, Cathedral, term explained, 142, note.
Charlemagne (shär'le-mān), 82 ff., character of his wars, 83; his wars, 84, 85; union of German peoples, 84; and Roman Empire, 86, 87, 88; civilization in his time, 89; government, 90; education, 91; place in history, 92.
Charles IV, Emperor, King of Bohemia, 311.
Charles V, Emperor, inheritance, 359; and Lutheranism, 359, 363, 366; wars, 364–366; abdication, 367.
Charles I, of England, 429–446; and Ireland, 449; **Ch. II**, 451, 453–459.
Charles V, of France, 285; **Ch. VII**, 294–296, 319; **Ch. VIII**, 298; **Ch. X**, 637 ff.
Charles I, of Spain, see *Charles V, Emperor*; **Ch. II**, 482.
Charles XII, of Sweden, 490.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Charles Albert, of Sardinia, 692 ff.
Charles Martel (märtĕl′), 70; and the Mohammedan power, 73, 75.
Charles of Anjou, 216.
Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, 316; **Ch. the Fat**, Emperor, 99; **Ch. the Simple**, 102.
Château-Thierry (shä-tō-tĭ-er-rĭ′), 885.
Child Labor, in England, 658; prohibition of, 733.
China, known to missionaries in thirteenth century, 344; war with Japan, 865; "opening of," by European powers, 866; Republic, 874.
"**Chronicles**," 263.
Church. I. *Origin and Government:* 20, 21, 42, note; 141–143.
II. *Extension:* first extension, 37, 38; further development, 41; propagation in Ireland, 42; in Persia, 42; among Germans on border of empire, 42; among the Franks, 69; in Germany, 76, 84; among Northmen, 102; southern Slavs, 103; Moravians, 104; northwestern Slavs, 106, 200, 250; Poland, 107; Hungary, 108; Anglo-Saxons, 112; Prussians, 247; Lithuanians, 321; in New World, 398.
III. *Influence:* life of Christians, 21; Ch. and Slavery, 41; people in Middle Ages, 144–150; charity, 21, 145, 257; penance, 146, 147; veneration of Saints, 148; chivalry, Christian, 137; the gilds, 257; Ch. saves civilization, 57–62; a bond of union, 139; Ch. and rising nations, 140, 57, 69, 76, note, 77, 100, 102, 107, 108, 112, 127; contributions to Western civilization, 95; see also *Monasticism;* Ch. in nineteenth century, 625; and Social Question, 663.
IV. *Obstacles:* persecutions in first centuries, 39; in England, 374, 386; in Ireland, 391 ff.; in French Revolution, 551; in Germany, 625, 782–784; heresies of Arius, 40 (41); of Albigenses, 235; Wyclif and Lollards, 288, 289; Hussites, 332, 334, 335; Protestants, see *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Church of England;* see also *Inquisition;* Eastern Schism, 235; Great Western Schism, 329–333; Ch. supported by secular powers, 40, 76, 78–81, 84, 86–88, 91, 102–108, 115, 159, 359, 380–384, 405; Ch. interfered with by secular powers, 63, note, 94, 220, 226–230; Gallicanism, 523; Josephism, 504; "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," 550; Evils in the Church: during Wandering of Nations, 55, 57; in Middle Ages, 219–223; at the time of Reformation, 346–348; true reform, 219, 231–234, 346, 349–352, 398.
Church of England, established, 372–377; under Edward VI, 379; suppressed by Mary, 380–384; restored by Elizabeth, 385; Presbyterian during the Civil War, 445, 448; Episcopalianism restored, 456; condition in early nineteenth century, 734; disestablished in Ireland, 737, 745.
Cid, Song of the, 264.
Cinque (sĭñk) **Ports**, 259.
Circuit Judges, in England, origin, 173.
Cisalpine Republic, 582.
Cistercians, 106, 130.
Cities, see *Towns.*
"**Civil Constitution**" of French clergy, 550.
Civilization, before and after the Deluge, 5; of Babylonians and Assyrians, 7; of Egyptians, 9; of Persians, 11; of Greece, 13–15; of Rome, 19, 25–36; of Celto-Romans, 44, 56; of ancient Irish, 45; of Teutons, 46–48; how preserved in Migration of Nations, 56 ff.; merits of Church in preserving civilization, 57–62.
Claire, St., 233.
Clarendon, Constitutions of, 169.
Clement V, Pope, 246, 328.
Clement VII, anti-pope, 329.
Clement VII, Pope, 364.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Clergy, privilege of, 143.
Clerics, term explained, 142, note.
Clermont, Council of, 237.
Clive, Robert, 498.
Clontarf, battle of, 102 (2).
Clothilda, 69.
Clovis, King, 54, 69.
Cluny, Monastery of, 150; and Reform of, 102 (3), 152, 159, 224.
Cobden, Richard, 735.
Code Napoleon, 591.
Colbert (kōlber'), 478.
Colet, John, 338.
Coligny (ko-le-nye), 406, note.
Columbanus, St., 62, 58.
Columbus, and America, 344.
Commendation, 119.
Commerce, in Roman Empire, 28; revival of, as result of Crusades, 252; and towns, 254, 257 III, 259 ff.; and colonies, 857–860.
Committee of Public Safety, 569–577.
Common Law, the English, 173.
Common Life, Brethren of, 351.
Common Pleas, Court of, 181.
Common Prayer, Book of, 379, 385.
Commons, House of, origin, 184.
Commonwealth, English, 447.
Commune, of Paris, in French Revolution, 561, 562, 568, 574, 575, 576; in 1871, 758–760.
Compass, invention of, 275, 342.
Concordat, French, of 1801, 598; abolished, 767; of Worms, 229.
Confederacy of the Rhine, under Napoleon, 607.
Confessor, term explained, 152, note 2.
Congo Free State, 862.
"Congregations" of Cardinals, 324, note.
Conrad I, King of Germany, 198; **C. II**, Emperor, 207; **C. III**, 208.
Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufens, 216.
Conservatives, an English Party, 722.
Constantine the Great, 24, 40.
Constantinople, capital of Roman Empire, 40; of "Greek" Empire, 45, 94; the most civilized city of Middle Ages, 94, 235; patriarchate of, 41, note; repels Saracens, 73; captured by Turks, 319.
Continental System, of Napoleon, 601.
Conventicle Act, 456.
Copenhagen, bombardment of, 601.
Copernicus, 345, 351.
Cordova, Caliphate of, 74, 93.
Corneille (kŏr-nā'y), 485.
Corn Laws, Repeal of, 735.
Corporation Act, 456.
Corsica, 583.
Corvée (kŏr-vā'), 519.
Cotton Gin, 647.
County Councils, in England, 727.
Coup d'état (koo-dē-tä'), 585, 676.
"Court," term explained, 155, note; feudal court, 121 (2); of the manor, 131; King's Court, in England, 163, 173; division of King's C., 181.
Covenanters, 437.
Cranmer, Archbishop, 372; and Book of Common Prayer, 379.
Crécy (krĕs'si), battle of, 283.
Crete, center of civilization, 12; and the Turks, 850.
Crimē'an War, 679; and Italy, 695.
Croats (krō'äts), 795.
Crompton, Samuel, 647.
Cromwell, Oliver, and Civil War, 444: strife with parliament, 446; and Rump, 446; in Ireland, 450; Protector, 453.
Crusades, origin and nature, 237; First Crusade, 238; Kingdom of Jerusalem and other "Latin" states, 239; Knightly Orders, 240; letters from Crusaders, 241; second Cr., 242; third Cr., 243; fourth Cr., 244; destruction of Greek Empire, 244; other Crusades, 245; further history of the Knightly Orders, 246–247; results of Crusades, military, 249; for the Church, 250; intellectual, 251; commercial, 252; political, 253.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Cū'nēiform Writing, 7.
Curials, in later Roman Empire, 34.
Custine (küs-teen'), 566.
Custozza (-stot'sa), battle of, 692, 706.
Cyprus, Kingdom of, 245.
Cyrillus and Methodius, Saints, 104.
Cyrus the Great, 11, 10.
Czechs (cheks), 103, 795.

Daguerre'otype, 652.
D'Alembert (däl-añ-ber'), 521.
Damietta, 245.
Danelaw (or Danelagh), 115, 153.
Danes, see *Northmen*.
Danish War, in 1864, 704.
Dante, 265.
Danton (dañ-toñ'), 556, 561, 562–564, 568, 569, 575.
"Dark Ages," 57, note.
"Dauphin," 294.
David, King, 10.
Decius, Emperor, 23.
"Declaration of Indulgence," 456, 459.
Deluge, 3; civilization before and after, 5.
Democracy, in Teutonic nations, 67, 95 (*d*); see *Liberalism*.
Denmark, empire in eleventh century, 151; later, 322; becomes Lutheran, 370; and Napoleon, 601; and Congress of Vienna, 615; historical review, 821; constitution in 1866, 822.
Desmoulins (dā-mo͞o-lăñ'), **Camille'**, 536, 575.
Diaz (dē-äs'), **Bartholomew**, 344.
Diderot (dē-drō'), 521.
Di-o-cle-tian, Emperor, 24, 32; edict on prices and wages, 35; persecutes Christians, 39.
Directory, the French, and Napoleon, 580–585.
Disraeli (dĭz-rā'lĭ), Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield, 722, 737.
Dissenters, 456; recover political rights, 717.
Divine Right Theory, of the Stuarts, 425, note, 428.
Domesday Book (do͞oms-), 162.
Domestic System, in manufactures, 654.
Dominicans, 234.
"Do-Nothing" Kings, 70.
Drake, Sir Francis, 404, 473.
Dramatics, during Middle Ages, 256, note.
Drogheda (drō'ĕ-dä), Massacre of, 450.
Dumouriez (dü-mo͞o-rē-ā'), 563, 566.
Duns Scotus, 276.
Dupleix (dü-plā'), 495.
Dürer, Albert, 343.

East Anglia, 110.
East Goths, 56, 64.
Eastern Empire, see *Greek Empire*.
Ebro, 84.
Edessa, 238.
Edgar the Peaceful, 116, 151.
Edgehill, battle of, 443.
Edward I, of England, 180; and judiciary, 181; and feudalism, 182; and parliament, 183–185; **E. II**, 186; **E. III**, 280 ff., 290, 292; **E. IV** and **V**, 300; **E. VI**, 377, 379; **E. VII**, 308, 872.
Edward the Confessor, 152.
Egbert of Wessex, 113.
Egypt, ancient civilization, 8, 9; St. Louis in, 245; Napoleon in, 584; revolt from Turkey, 666; English Protectorate, 753.
"Electors," of Holy Roman Empire, 311.
Eliot, Sir John, 430, 433, 437.
Elizabeth, of England, 383, note, 385–389; of Russia, 491, 496; of Thuringia, St., 214.
Emigrants, French, 542, 554, 589.
Ems dispatch, 710.
Enclosures, see *Inclosures*.
Encyclicals, papal, term explained, 141 (1).
Encyclopedists, French, 521.
England, see *Britain*. Britain be-

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

comes England, 113; Alfred the Great, 115; his successors, 116; part of Knut's empire, 151; first Norman influence, 152; Norman Conquest, 153; Saxon local institutions, 154, 155; Norman centralization and Feudalism, 157, 158; Church in Norman England, 159; strife over investiture, 230; results of Conquest, 160, 161; the Norman kings, 162–165; Henry II, 166 ff.; French possessions of, 167; weakening of feudalism, 168; and the Church, St. Thomas à Becket, 169, 170; expedition to Ireland, 171, 172; administration of Justice, 173, 174; Richard I, 176; John (Lackland), 177, 178; Magna Carta, 178; Henry III, 179; Edward I, 180 ff.; wars, 180; judicial reforms, 181; further weakening of feudalism, 182; beginnings of Parliament, 183; the Model Parliament, 184; "No Taxation without Representation," 185; Edward III and Hundred Years' War, 280 ff.; first two periods of the war, 280–285; Black Death, 286; disappearance of serfdom begins, 287; Wyclif and Lollards, 288, 289; Richard II, 290 ff.; Rising of 1381 (Wat Tyler), 292; growth of Parliament, 292; Henry IV, 292; third and fourth periods of Hundred Years' War under Henry V and VI, 294 ff.; Joan of Arc, 294, 295; Wars of the Roses, 299–301; their results: the New Monarchy, 301–303; English power in Ireland, 304–307; the Reformation in England, under Henry VIII, 371 ff.; suppression of monasteries, 375–377; Edward VI, 379; Mary the Catholic, 380–384; Elizabeth, 385 ff.; material prosperity, 388; religious and political interference in Ireland, 390–392; "Plantations," 392; English influence in Scotland, 393, 394; defeat of the Armada, 404.

Summary for 1450–1600, 413 ff.; inclosures, 415; rise of towns, 415, 416, 419; manufactures and trade, 416, 417; Puritanism, 420, 423; political conditions, under the Tudors, 424; under James I and Charles I, 425 ff.; the nation's hope, 426; struggle between parliament and James I, 428; Charles I and his early parliaments, 429–433; Petition of Right, 432; 11 years of "No Parliament," 434; Long Parliament, 438 ff.; Civil War, 441–445; Commonwealth, 447; Protectorate, 453; Cromwell in Ireland, 449; Restoration, 453, 454; Charles II, 454 ff.; policy, 456, 457; rise of political parties, 458; James II, 459 ff.; Revolution of 1688, 460; results, 462 ff.; fate of Dissenters and Catholics, 462, 466; ministerial government, 463, 464; the early Georges, 465; society in eighteenth century, 461; expansion to Great Britain, 468; in America, 473–474; and in eighteenth century wars, 482, 494–497; loss of American colonies, 494; and wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 566, 580, 584–586, 597 ff.; Napoleon's Continental System, 601; victory over Napoleon, 610–613; gains in 1814, 615; against Holy Alliance at Troppau, 631; checks attempt of Holy Alliance upon Spanish America, 633; and Industrial Revolution, 644–659; review of eighteenth century reaction, 715; pocket boroughs, 715; attempts at reform to 1815, 716; penal code and reform, 717; political rights restored to Dissenters, 717; reform bill of 1832, 718, 719; ministerial government confirmed, 720; Victorian Age, 721; political leaders, 722; agitation for extension of franchise, 723; Chartists, 724; reform bill of 1867, 725; of 1884, 726; local government reform, 727; the British Constitution, 728 ff.; social reform in nineteenth century, 732 ff; factory reform, 733; "Oxford movement," 734; corn law repeal, 735; free

trade, 736; Gladstone's ministry of 1867–1874 (schools, disestablishment, etc.), 737; Disraeli's aggressive foreign policy, '74–'80, 737; England and Ireland, 738 ff.; Home-Rule struggle, 746 ff.; colonial empire, 749 ff.; self-government, 751; colonial federation, 756; imperial federation, 757; alliances of the New Age, 872; enters the Great War, 879.

English language, 161.

Era, Christian, 88, note; French Revolutionary, 574.

Escheat (ĕs-cheet'), term explained, 119, 121 (3).

Estate, in politics, term explained, 184, note.

Estates General, French, 195, 296, 477.

Ethelred the Redeless, 151.

Eugene, Prince, 482, 503.

Evans, Oliver, inventor, 650.

Eves'ham, battle of, 179.

Exarch of Ravenna, 64.

Exchequer (-cheker), Court of, 181.

Excommunication, 147.

Factory System, 654–658; factory reform, 733.

Falkirk, battle of, 182.

Falkland, Lord, 439.

Fatimites, 236.

Fénelon (-loñ'), 485.

Fenians, 744.

Ferdinand I, Emperor, 363, 367; **F. II** and **III**, 409.

Ferdinand of Aragon, 298, 318; **F. VII** of Spain, 629; **F.** of Naples, 632.

Ferdinand, Archduke, murder of, 876.

Feudalism, 117 ff.; the system explained, 118, 119; origin, 123, 124; fief, lord, vassal, investiture, subinfeudation, subvassal, homage, escheat, 118; the working and the fighting class, 122; castles, armor, etc., 126; private wars, 127; life in feudal times, 128–138; in the manor, 128–131; of the nobility, 132–138; chivalry, 136, 137; feudalism weakened, in England, 158, 168, 182, 301; in France, 194; in Sicily, 214; in Spain, 319; generally by Crusades, 253; by rise of infantry, 208, 283, 284, 314, 315, 360.

Fief, 118.

Finland, conversion 250; part seized by Russia, 491; all ceded to Russia, 615 ff.; attempts to Russianize, 837, 838; diet of 1907, 838.

Fisher, Blessed, John, bishop, 338, 374.

Fitch, John, inventor, 650.

Fitzgeralds, revolt of the, 391.

Five Members, 441.

Flanders, 188, 192, 316.

Florence and the Medici, 259.

Florida, ceded to England, 497.

Foch (fōsh), French Marshal, 885.

Folkmoots, 67, 152 note; in Switzerland, 815; 818.

Fortescue, Sir John, 414.

Fourier (fōō-rĭ-ā'), 661.

France, West-Frankish Kingdom, 98, 99; accession of Capetians, 188; nature of first kingship, 190; growth of territory, 192, 193; growth of royal power, 194, 196; Estates General, 195, 296; Hundred Years' War, 282 ff.; territorial growth completed, 297; growth of absolutism, 296, 297; wars of Francis I, 364; abandons Italy for expansion towards the Rhine, 367; religious wars in, 406; under Henry IV, 407; and Richelieu, 408; Thirty Years' War, 408, 412; under Louis XIV, 478–486; seizure of new territory, 479; intellectual leadership, 484; wars with Frederick the Great, 494 ff.; in America, 471, 472; wars for America, 495–497; loss of America, 497. See *French Revolution* and *Napoleon*. After 1814, charter, 636; Charles X, 367 ff.; struggle against despotism, 638 ff.; Revolution of 1830, 640; Louis Philippe, 640; liberal constitution, 641;

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

reaction of Revolution upon Europe, 642, 643; Orleans monarchy, 665; overthrown by Revolution of 1848, 667 ff.; influence of Industrial Revolution upon France, 668; national workshops in 1848, 671, 673; overthrown, 673. See *Napoleon III.*
Franco-German war, 735 ff.; Third Republic, 786; peace, with loss of Alsace-Lorraine, 789; the Paris Commune, 791, 792; attempts to restore monarchy, 793–798; presidency of Thiers, 762; of MacMahon, 762; the Constitution, 763–764; Republicanism victorious, 762; France today, 766 ff.; stability and progress, 765; Church and State, 766–767; administration, 768; schools, 769; advance in industry, 770; wealth and its distribution, 770; colonies, 771; recent international relations, 871, 872; entrance into Great War, 879; acquisitions from Germany in peace of 1919, 887.
Francis, St., 233.
Francis II, Emperor (Fr. I of Austria), 555, 605, 607.
Francis Joseph, of Austria, 685.
Francis I, of France, 364.
Francis of Sickingen, 360.
Francis Xavier, Saint, 398.
Franciscans, 233, 250, 344.
Franconia, 197.
Frankfort Parliament, of 1848, 687.
Franks, 47; rise and conquests, 52, 69; Mayors of the Palace of, 70, 73, 75–77. See *Carolingians*, *Charlemagne*.
Frederick I, Barbarossa, Emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 208–210; as Crusader, 209, 243; Frederick II, Emperor, 213–215.
Frederick II, the Great, 476, 494, 496, 499, 505, 506.
Frederick III, 493.
Frederick William, the Great Elector, 493; F. W. IV, 686 ff., 701.
Free-Thinkers, 520.
French and Indian War, 496, 497.
French Revolution of 1789, 507 ff.; a true revolution, 507; abuses leading to, 508 ff.; government's need of money, 517; taxation, 511, 512, 518; abuses of government, 513–516; the men of ideas, 520–524; and American Revolution, 524; attempts at reform, 525; Estates General, 511, 528–531; becomes National Assembly, 532; Tennis Court Oath, 533; Paris and the Palace of Louis Philippe, 535; Bastille, 526, 527; mob rule in Paris and the provinces, 536–538, 547; middle-class organization, 539; "August 4," abolition of privilege, 540; peasantry, 540, 592; March of the Women, Assembly and king at Paris, 542; mob and clubs, 542, 543; parties in Assembly, 544; Constitution of 1791, 547–551; Legislative Assembly, 552; parties in, 553; foreign perils, 554; attitude towards war, 555 ff.; mob in the Tuileries, 557; foreign invasion, 559; Brunswick's proclamation, 560; deposition of king, 561; September massacres, 562; "at war with kings," 593; Republic declared, 564; Convention of '93, 563; execution of king, 565; Girondists and Jacobins, 567, 568; Gironde Rebellion, 568, 570; Committee of Public Safety, 569 ff.; "Terror," 572, 573; war on religion, 574; fall of Jacobins, 575 ff.; end of "Terror," 577; Directory, 578–585; Consulate, 585; see *Bonaparte* and *Napoleon*.
French, English General, 881.
Freya (frā'ya), 46, note.
Friars, 232.
Fulton, Robert, inventor, 650.

Gabelle (gä-bel'), 518.
Gali-leo (-leeo), 342, 345.
Gambetta, 765, 766.
Garibal'di, 691, 699.
Geiler (gī'ler), John, 351.
Genghis Khan, 214.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Genoa (gen'o-ä), 259; Ligurian Republic, 582, added to Piedmont, 615.
Gentry, in parliament, 184.
Geoffrey of Anjou, 166.
George I of England, 465; **G. II**, 465; **G. III**, 716; **G. IV**, 716; **G. V**, 461, note.
George, Lloyd, 748, 722, table.
Geographical discoveries, 344.
German, Germanic, Teutonic, terms explained, 46, note.
German Empire, see North German Confederation; growth of Prussia after 1848, 701–707; Franco-Prussian War, 708 ff.; Empire established, 712; character of government, 773 ff.; Prussia in, 778; army and militarism, 779; the rulers, 780; kulturkampf, 782–784; Socialism, 785–787; trade and colonies, 788–789; foreign relations, 870–872; and the Great War, 878 ff.; peace terms, 887.
Germanic Confederation, 622, 707, b.
Germany, East-Frankish Kingdom, 98, 99; under last Carolingians, 99, 100; German Dukedoms about 900, 197; Conrad I, and accession of Saxon line of rulers, 198; Henry I, 199; Otto the Great, 200, 205 (see *Holy Roman Empire*); crowned emperor, 201; union of imperial dignity with German kingdom, 202; other emperors of the Saxon line, 206; the Salian Emperors, 207; conflict about lay-investiture, 227–229; Hohenstaufen Emperors, 208–218; Frederick Barbarossa, 208–210; his next successors, 212, 213; Frederick II, 214, 215; Germany at the end of their reign, 217; cities in Germany, 260, 261; "Interregnum," 308; Rudolph of Hapsburg and his next successors, 309, 310; Charles IV, 311; Sigismund and the Western Schism, 333, 334; beginning of line of Hapsburg Emperors, 312; imperial institutions at the time of Maximilian I, 312; Germany and Switzerland, 314; German humanists, 338; the Reformation in Germany under Charles V (351), 353–362; other features of Charles V's reign, 363–367; the Thirty Years' War, 409–412. See also *Holy Roman Empire*. For subsequent events see *Austria*, *Prussia*. Definite loss of Switzerland and Holland, 412; wars of Louis XIV and consequent losses, 477 ff.; French Revolutionary wars and consequent losses, 557 ff.; changes within Germany, 606–608, 615; abdication of last emperor, 607 (see *Austria*, *Prussia*, *Germanic Confederation*, *North German Confederacy*, *German Empire*).
Ghibelline, 210.
Gibraltar, acquired by England, 482.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 473.
Gilds, Roman, 35; medieval, 256–258; decline, 258, 377; restrictions on labor in France in 1789, 511; abolished, 526.
Girondists, 553, 555–557, 564, 567, 568, 570, 571, 573.
Gladstone, William E., 722 ff.; reform ministry of, 737; and Ireland, 745–747; foreign policy, 737.
Godfrey of Bouillon (bo͞o-yoñ'), 238, 239.
Goethe (Gö'tĕ), 596, note.
Golden Bull, 311.
"**Good Parliament**," 292.
Gör'res, Joseph, 625, 627.
Goths, see *East Goths* and *West Goths*.
Granada, 318.
Grand Jury, origin of, 174.
Great Council, in England, 183.
Great War, 1914–1918, outbreak of, 875–880; on western front, 881; on eastern front, 882; other fronts, 883; America in, 884; defeat of Central Powers, 885; peace proposals, 886; peace with Germany, 887.
Greece, Ancient, 12–16; Modern, 634; and war of 1878, 847; war with

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Turkey in 1897, 850; in 1912, 853 ff. See *Balkan States*.
Greek Empire (Eastern, or Byzantine E.), 43, 64, 73, 78, 88, 93, 94, 211, 235, 239, 244, 277, 319, 339.
Greenland, 102.
Gregory I, the Great, St., Pope, 58, 112; **G. VII**, St., 226–230, 237.
Grey, Jane, 380, note.
Grey, Sir Edward, 880.
Guelf, 210.
Guiscard (Gēs-car'), Robert, 211.
Guizot (gē-zō'), 666, 667.
Gunpowder, first use of, 283.
Gustavus Adolphus, 410.
Gutenberg (goot'ĕn-berg), John, 341.
Guthrun, 115.

Haakon VII, 826.
Habeas Corpus (hā'bĕ-ăs), 178.
Hadley, William, 338.
Hague Congresses, 873.
Hamites, origin and name, 4.
Hampden, John, 435, 438, 439, 441.
Hamurabi, 7.
Hanoverian Kings of England, table, 460, note.
Han'sa, 261.
Hapsburgs (haps'boorg), see Rudolph of, 309; rulers of Germany, 312; separate Spanish and Austrian lines, 359, note; extinction in Spain, 482. See *Germany*, *Austria*.
Hargreaves, James, inventor, 647.
Harold the Saxon, 153.
Harold, Hardrada, 153.
Harvey, William, rediscovers circulation of blood, 388.
Hastings, battle of, 153.
Hébert (ā-bār'), 575.
Hebrews, 6, 10.
Hedwig, heiress of Poland, 321.
Hegi'ra, 72.
Heimskringla. 264.
Hengist and Horsa, 110.
Henry I, of *Germany*, 198, 199; H. II, 206; H. III, 207; H. IV, 207, 227, 228; H. V, 207, 228, 229; H. VI, 212; H. VII, 310.
Henry I, of *England*, 163, 230; H. II, 166–175; H. III. 179; H. IV, 292 (2); H. V, 294; H. VI, 294, 299; H. VII, 300, 301; H. VIII, 371–378.
Henry IV, of *France* (Bourbon), 407.
Henry the Navigator, 344.
Heresy, term explained, 235, note.
Herodotus, 14.
Herzegowina (hert-se-go-vē'na), see Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Hindenburg, German general, 882.
Hofer, Andrew, 602.
Hohenlinden, battle of, 586.
Hohenstaufen, 208 ff.
Hohenzollern (hō-en-tsol'lern), see *Brandenburg*.
Holbein (hōl'bīne), 343.
Holland, see *Netherlands*; separate state, 402, 412; colonial empire, 402; and England, 452, 457; and Louis XIV, 479, 482; Batavian Republic, 580; and Napoleon, 605; made Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1814, 615; government and conditions, 813–814.
Holy Alliance, 619 ff., 631.
Holy Roman Empire, revival of Roman Empire in 800, 86–88; under later Carolingians, 98; restored under Otto I, 202–205; see *Germany* after Otto I; end of, 625 ff.
Homage, term explained, 118.
Hospitals, establishment of, 145.
Houses, of Roman aristocracy, 34 (1).
Hroswitha, 263.
Huguenots, 406; wars of, 406; under Henry IV, 407; under Richelieu, 408; under Louis XIV, 459, 480; fugitives in England, 416, 459.
Humanists, 336–337.
Hundreds, English local division, 154, 155.
Hundred Years' War, 280–297.
Hungarians, 104, 108; raids, checked by Henry I and Otto I, 199, 200; Hungary and Turks, 320, 365, 501–503; Hapsburg kings, 367; in 1848, 583–685; to 1866, 793. See *Austria-Hungary*.
Huns, 49, 51, 53.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Hunyadi (hoon'yă-di), 320.
Hus (hoos), John, 323, 332, 334.
Hutten, Ulric, 360.
Hyde, 438.

Iceland, 102, 264, 370.
Illiteracy, in Italy, 790; in Portugal, 809.
Illyrian Provinces, 603, 605.
Imperialism, 859.
Inclosures, in Tudor period, 415; in eighteenth century, 659.
Independents, 423, 444, 446.
India, English trade with, 388; acquisition of, 495, 498; English dependency, 752.
Indians, treatment of, by Spain, 405; by England, 471; by France, 471.
Indulgences, 353.
Industrial Revolution, 644 ff.; conditions before, 655; in agriculture in England, 646; in transportation, 646; in English manufacturing, 647 ff.; steam engine, 648; in iron, 648; age of steam and iron, 649; steamboat, 650; railroad, 651; revolution in manner of living, 653 ff.; conditions under domestic system, 654; hardships of change, 654 ff.; factory system, 655; growth of cities, 657; and effect upon factory workers, 657; child labor, 658; landlord England, 659; in ideas of government, 660 ff.; Socialism, 661 ff.; industrial revolution in France, 668.
Infantry, term explained, 126 (3); growing importance of, 208, 283, 284, 315.
Initiative, popular, in law-making, 819.
Innocent III, Pope, 145, 147, 177, 193, 212, 213, 231, 244; **In. XI**, 502.
Inquisition, 193, note, 323–326.
Interdict, term explained, 147.
Interregnum, in Germany, 308.
Inventions, in Age of Renaissance, 341; agricultural machinery, 646; spinning wheel, 647; cotton gin, 647; weaving, 648; see *Industrial Revolution;* miscellaneous, 652; and America, 649–652.
Investiture, term explained, 118; see *Lay-Investiture.*
Iona (ī-ō'nä), monastery of, 42.
Ireland, conversion, 42; civilization in, 45; monasteries and schools of, 62, 96; and Northmen, 103 (2); Henry II in, 171, 172; after Henry II, to Tudors, 304–307; in Reformation period, 390–392; and Charles I, 436, 449; Cromwell in, 450; James II and William III (Penal Laws), 467; review to 1700, 738; in eighteenth century, 738–739; dawn of better times, 739; first Relief Acts, 740; United Irishmen and "Orange" lodges, 741; the Union, 741; O'Connell, 742–743; Fenian Rising, 744; Land Act, 745; Home Rule, 746–748.
Ironsides, 444.
Isabella of Castile, 318.
Isidore, St., 58.
Islam, 71.
Italy, during Wandering of Nations, 51; divided between Teutons and (Greek) Empire, 64; see *Papal States;* distracted condition in tenth century, 201; union with Germany, 203; under Hohenstaufens, 208, 210–218; French attempt to conquer, 298; in Renaissance, 336–338; loss of commercial importance, 344; and Napoleon, 581, 582, 605; and Congress of Vienna, 615; political reaction, 620; risings of 1821, 630, 632; review to 1815, war with Austria, 679, 696, 689, 690; to 1848, 691; Mazzini and Young Italy, 691; risings of '48, 692; restorations, 692; making of United Italy by Sardinia, 694 ff.; Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, 694; Crimean War, 695; Congress of Paris, 695; steps in growth to "Kingdom of Italy," 696–700; addition of Venetia, 706; of Rome, 792; since 1870, 790 ff.; the Roman Question, 792.
Ivan (ē-van'), the Terrible, 487.

Jacobins, 543, 552, 556–577, 589.
Jacquerie (zhăk-rē′), 284.
Jagello (ya-gĕl′lō), King of Poland, 321.
James I, *of England* (James VI of Scotland), 371, note, 425–428; J. II, 456, 458–460, 480, 481.
Jan′issaries, 319.
Japan, Christianity in, 398; war with China, 865; with Russia, 867.
Jellachich (yel′la-kĭĸ), 684, 695.
Jemappes (zhā-măp′), battle of, 563.
Jena (yā′nä), battle of, 599.
Jerome of Prague, 331.
Jerome, Bonaparte, 600.
Jerusalem, destruction of, 23; captured by Saracens, 72, 237; by Crusaders, 238; Kingdom of, 239; captured by Saladin, 243; received back by Frederick II, 214.
Jesuits, 398, 523, 628, 782.
Jesus Christ, birth and life work, 19, 20.
Joan of Arc (jō-ăn *or* jōn), 294, 295.
Joffre, (shōfr) French general, 881.
Jogues (shōg), 471.
John XII, *Pope*, 201, 205; J. XIII, 205; J. XXII, 328; J. XXIII (anti-pope), 333.
John, King of England, 177, 178, 192, 213, 304.
John the Good, of France, 284.
John of Gaunt, 288.
Joinville (shwăñ-vĭl′), quoted, 120, 133, 137, 196.
Joseph II, of Austria, 500, 504.
Jourdan (shōōr-dăñ), 583.
Julian the Apostate, Emperor, 40.
"July Ordinances," 639.
"July Revolution," 640.
"June Days," 673.
Jury, Grand, Petty, 174.
Justi′nian the Great, 63.
Jutes, 52, 110.

Kaunitz (kou′-), 496.
Ke′tteler, bishop of Mainz, 786.
Khedive (kĕ-dēv′) of Egypt, 753.
Kiau Chau (kyou-chou), 866.
Kilkenny, Statue of, 306.
King William's War, 481.
Knighthood, 122, 136, 137.
Knights of St. John, 240, 246; K. Templar, 240, 246, 328; Teutonic, 240, 247.
Knox, John, 393.
Knut the Great, 151.
Koran, 71.
Kosciusko (kōsh-choos′kō), 506.
Kossuth (kŏsh′o͝ot), 684, 685.
Kŏt′zĕbue (-boo), 626.
Kulturkampf (kool-toor′kämpf), in France, 766 ff.; in Germany, 782 ff.; Italy, 790; Belgium, 811.
Kwang-Chau-Wau, 866.

Labor, see *Serfdom*, *Gilds*, *Domestic System*, *Industrial Revolution*, *Factory System*, *Social Insurance*.
Lafayette (lä-fä-yet′), 524, 539, 540, 542, 544, 547, 553, 555, 558, 561, 640.
Laibach (läi′bäĸ), Congress of, 632.
"Laissez Faire" (lĕ-sā fār′) doctrine, 660.
Lallemant (lälmañ′), 471.
Lamartine (lä-mär-tēn′), 668, 670 ff.
Lancastrians, table of, 290, note.
Landtag, Prussian (länt′taĢ), Prussian, 778.
Lanfranc, 159.
Langton, Stephen, 178.
La Salle (-säl), 471.
Lasalle (lä-sälle′), 785.
Lat′eran, IV Council of, 231.
Latin States, in Syria (Crusades), 239 ff.; replacing Greek Empire, 244.
Laud, Archbishop, 437.
Lawyers, rise of, in England, 181.
League of Nations, 886.
Lechfeld (lĕĸ′fĕlt), battle of, 208.
Legnano (lenyä′no), battle of, 298.
Leipzig (līp′tsĭĸ), battle of, 611.
Leo I, the Great, *Pope*, 53; L. III, 87; L. VIII (anti-pope), 205; L. IX, 224; L. X, 326, 353, 358; L. XIII, 251, note.
Leo the Isaurian, Emperor, 73.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Leonardo da Vinci (dä vĭn'chē), 343.
Leopold (I), Emperor, 546, 554, 555; L. II, 554.
Lepanto, battle of, 403.
"**Letters of the Seal**," 516.
Leuthen (loi'tĕn), 496.
Liauyang (lee-ou-yäng'), battle of, 867.
Liberalism, in England in 17th century, 424–468; in 19th, 718 ff.; in France before French Revolution, 520–522, 526; see *French Revolution;* after Revolution, in 1830, 636 ff.; in Third Republic, 761 ff.; in Germany, see *Socialism;* in Italy, 630, 632, 643; in Switzerland, 815 ff.; in Belgium, 811 ff.; in Russia, 834 ff.
Liberal party, in England, 722, note.
Lib'ya, 791.
Ligurian Republic, 582.
Limerick, Broken Treaty of, 771.
Literature, of Middle Ages, 263.
Lithuania, united with Poland, 321.
Livingstone, explorer, 862.
Livonia, 370.
Locke, **John**, 520.
Lollards, 289.
Lombard League, 208, 215.
Lombards, 47, 64, 78, 79, 84.
Long Parliament, 438, 453.
Longwy, lost and retaken by French, 562, 563.
Lords, House of, origin, 184; and Reform bill of 1830, 729; in British Constitution, 730; "mended," 748.
Lorraine, 98, 197; lost in 1870, 713; regained in 1919, 887.
Lothair I, Emperor, 98; L. II, 208.
Louis, the Pious, Emperor, 97; L., the Child, 99, 197; L., the Sluggard, 99, 188; L. II, 98; L., the Bavarian, 310.
Louis VII, of *France*, 242; L. IX (the Saint), 137, 194, 196, 245; L. XI, 296, 316; L. XIV, 476 ff., 513; L. XV, 513; L. XVI, 513, 525 ff.; L. XVII, 566, 573; L. XVIII, 613, 616, 636.
Louis Philippe, "citizen king," 640, 641, 665.
Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, 543, 573.
Loyola, **Ignatius**, St., 398.
Luther, **Martin**, 356–361; spread of Lutheranism, 370.
Lyons, Council of, 215.

McCormick, Cyrus, inventor, 652.
McMurrough, Dermot, 171; Kavanagh, Art, 307.
Magenta (-jen'tä), battle of, 679, 696.
Magna Carta, 178.
Magnetic needle, 275, 342.
Magyars (mod'yärz), 104, 107, 795 ff., see *Hungarians.*
Maine (man), County in France, 163, 192.
Malplaquet (mäl-plä-kā'), battle of, 482.
Malta, 246, 615.
Mamelukes (mah'mĕ-looks), 236.
Manchester doctrine, 660.
Manor, feudal, 128–131.
Mantua, Dukedom, 259.
Marat (mä-rä'), 556, 562, 563, 567.
Marengo, battle of, 586.
Maria Theresa, 494, 496, 504.
Marie Antoinette (än-twä-net'), 525 ff., 573.
Marie Louisa, 603.
Mark States, 90, 199, note.
Marlborough, Duke of, 482.
Marlowe, 388.
Marne (märn), battle of, 881, 885.
Marquette, 471.
Marseillaise (mär-sā-yĕz'), Hymn, 557.
Marston Moor, battle of, 444.
Martin V, Pope, 333.
Marx, **Karl**, 662, 785.
Mary, of Burgundy, 316; Stuart, 386, 394; Tudor, 372, 380–384; M. II, of England, 460, 465.
Masovia, 247.
Masters, and Masterpieces, 257, B.
Maximilian I, Emperor, 312, 316, 359.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Maximilian of Mexico, 680.
Mayfields, 67 (c), 70, 90.
Mayors of the Palace, 70, 73, 75–77.
Mazarin (mä-ẓä-răñ′), Cardinal, 477.
Mazzini (mät-zē′nē), 691, 692.
Mecca, 71.
Medici (mā′di-chē), 259.
Mendicant Orders, 232 ff.
Merovingians, name, 69.
Methodius, see *Cyrillus*.
Metternich (-nĭĸ), 621 ff., 632, 681.
Metz, 366, 412, 711, 713.
Michael Angelo (mī′kĕl än′jä-lo), 343.
Middle Ages, Medieval Times, term explained, page 1.
Milan, Edict of, 40; Dukedom, 259; acquired by Austria, 482.
Ministerial Government, see *Cabinet Government*.
Minnesingers, 264.
Minorca, 482.
Mirabeau (mē-rä-bō′), 531, 534, 536, 540, 544, 545, 546, 556.
Missi Dominici, 90.
Modern History, term explained, page 1.
Mohammed, and Mohammedanism, 71–74, 93, 201, 236 ff.; see *Crusades*, *Turks*.
Molière (mō-lyär′), 485.
Moltke, 703, 706.
Monasticism, origin, etc., 59 ff.; new Orders, 149, 150; Mendicants, decline in fifteenth century, 347; Reformation, 232 ff.; Orders of time, 398; suppressed in England, 375 ff.; in France, 551, 767.
Money, lack of, in Roman World, 33; in Charlemagne's time, 89; one of the causes of feudalism, 118; increase during Crusades, 252, 253.
Mongols, invasion of, 214.
Monroe Doctrine, 633.
Montalembert (mōn-tä-läñ′bār), 666.
Montcalm, 497.
Montenegro, 844 ff.; enters Great War, 880.
Montfort, Simon de, 179, 183.
Moors, term explained, 71, note.
Morality Plays, 256, note.
Moravia, 103, 104.
More, Sir Thomas, Bl. 374, 338, quoted, 415.
Moreau (mō-rō′), 586.
Morgarten, battle of, 314, 315.
Moriscos, expelled from Spain, 405.
Morocco, French Protectorate, 872.
Morse, inventor, 652.
"**Morton's Fork**," 301.
Moscow (mŏs′cō), retreat from, 610; industrial center, 834.
Moslem, 71.
"**Mountain**," in French Revolution, 553, 556, 564, 568.
Mukden (mo͞ok′den), 867.
Municipal institutions in Roman Empire, 27; survival, 56, 68.
Murat (mü-rä′), 583, 605.
Murillo (mo͞o-ril′yō), 343.

Nabuchodonosor, 10.
Nantes (näñt), Edict of, 407; revoked, 480.
Naples, Kingdom of, 605 (*b*), 614, 630, 632, 699.
Napoleon I, see *Bonaparte*, to 1800; and the Constitution, 587; and local government, 588; benefits to France, 589–592; emperor, 594; plebiscites, 595; despotism, 596; wars, 597 ff.; greatest power, 609; fall, 610, 611; the "Hundred Days," and Waterloo, 616, 617; death, 618; and Fulton at Boulogne, 650; **N. II**, 676; **N. III**, Louis Napoleon, 674; President, the coup d'état, 675 ff.; economic progress, 678; wars, 679; and United States, 680; and Mexico, 680; and Italy, 695–700; and Bismarck, 705; Franco-German War, 709 ff.
Narva, battle of, 490.
Naseby (nās′bȳ), battle of, 444.
National Assembly of France, 532, 534, 535, 539.
National Convention of France, 561, 563, 564–579.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

National Guards, in France, 539, 542, 579.
National Workshops, French, in 1848, 671.
Nationality, principle of, 621.
Navarino, battle of, 634.
Navas de Tolosa (nä-väs de tō-lō′sa), battle of, 231.
Navigation Act, 452.
Necker, minister, 527, 530, 532, 536.
Nelson, 584.
Nepotism, 348.
Netherlands, to 1500, 316, 317; become Austrian, 316; become Spanish, 359 and note, 367; Revolution, 399–402; see *Holland* and *Belgium*.
Newfoundland, 482.
"**New Monarchy**" in England, 301.
Newman, Cardinal, 734.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 519.
Nibelungenlied (nē-be-lo͝on′gĕn-lēt), 120, 264.
Nicaea (nī-cē′a), Council of, 41.
Nice, overrun by French, 563; annexed to France, 580; regained to Sardinia, 618; returned to France, 679.
Nicholas I, of Russia, 839; and Greek freedom, 634; **N. II**, 840 ff.
Nicholas II, Pope, 225; **N. V.**, 351.
Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal, 351.
Nicholas of Flue, 314.
Nicolaitism, 222.
Nicopolis, battle of, 311.
Nightingale, Florence, 679.
Nihilists, 839.
Nile, battle of the, 534.
Noah, and descendants, 4.
Nobility, 120, 122.
Nogaret (nō-gä-rā′), 327.
Norbert, St., 150 (*a*).
Normandy, founded, 102; and England before 1066, 152; see Norman Conquest, under *England;* see *Two Sicilies;* lost by John, 177.
North German Confederation, 707.
Northmen, 97, 99, 101, 102; invasions into England, 113, 114; results of their incursions, 117.
Norway, conversion of, 102; Innocent III and, 231; and Denmark, 322; Reformation in, 370; ceded to Sweden, 615; since 1815, 824 ff.
Nova Scotia, 482.
Novara, battle of, 692.

Oates, Titus, conspiracy, 456.
Oath of Strassburg (stras′boorg), 98, note.
Oath of the Tennis Court, 533, 557.
O'Connell, Daniel, 774.
Odo, Duke of Paris, 188.
Odoaker, 43, 51.
O'Donnell, Roe, 391.
Old Sārum, 743.
Olmütz, Prussian humiliation at, 688.
O'Neill, Hugh and Shane, 391; Owen Roe, 449.
Or′dēal, Trial by, 66, 174.
Orders, Clerical, 142.
Organic Articles, 589, 594.
Oriental Civilization, 7–11.
Orlēans (or-lĕ-äñ′) **Monarchy**, 641.
Ormond, Duke of, 449.
Oscar II, of Sweden, 825.
Osman, 249.
Otto I, the Great, Emperor, 200–205; **O. II**, 206; **O. III**, 107, 206; **O. IV** (of Nordheim), 213.
Ottokar, of Bohemia, 309.
Oudenarde, (oo-dĕ-närd′) battle of, 482.
Oxford, University, 267.
Oxford Movement, 734.

Paganism, 40.
Pages, training in feudal times, 136.
Painting, medieval, 279; Renaissance, 343.
Palacky, 683.
Palestine, conquered by Mohammedans, 72, 237, 242, 245.
Papacy, origin, 21; rise into greater prominence, 40; and civilization, 58; and Franks, 77; foundation of temporal sovereignty, 78–81; see *Holy Roman Empire;* and Slav nations, 104–107; and Hungarians,

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

108; and Anglo-Saxons, 112; character, and election of popes, 141; establishes religious Orders, 150 (*b*); and John of England, 177; and Otto the Great, 201–205; and Henry III of Germany, 207; and the Hohenstaufens, 208–218; and Two Sicilies, 211, 216; struggle for ecclesiastical liberty, 223–231, 337; and Crusades, 237, 242, 244; and universities, 267; as defender of Europe against the Turk, 319, 320, 403; popes in Avignon, 328; Western Schism, 329–333; and humanism, 337; nepotism, 348; sad conditions of papal court about 1500, 348; and Luther, 358; zealous popes, 398.

Papal States, foundation, 78, 79; importance of, 80; during next centuries, 98; and French Revolution, 585; and Napoleon, 605; at Congress of Vienna, 615; first decades of revolutionary movements in nineteenth century, 691 ff.; end of, 699, 792.

Paris, Congress of, 679, 887.

Paris, University of, 267, 331.

Parlement (pär-le-mäñ′) of Paris, 515, 529.

Parliament, English, beginning, 183 ff.; "Model P.," 184; develops two houses, 184; growth in Hundred Years' War, 292, 293; loss after Wars of the Roses, 301; under Tudors, 424. See *Liberalism*. Reform in nineteenth century, 715 ff., 748.

Parnell, Irish leader, 747.

Patriarchs, origin, 42, note.

Patrick, St., 42.

Paul, St., 37.

Paulinus of York, St., 112.

Pauperism, in England, in sixteenth century, 377; in nineteenth century, 657, 733.

Peasants, life of, 122, 128 ff.; peasants' risings, 284, 291, 361. See *Serfdom*.

Pedro I, of Portugal, 808; **P. II**, 808.

Peel, Robert, 722, 735.

Penal Laws, 385, 426, 430, 467; abolished, 740, 742.

Penance, 146, 147.

Penda, 112.

Peninsular War, 602.

Pensions, Old Age, 786.

Persia, 11, 16, 22, 72, 872.

Peter, St., position in the Church, 21; arrives in Rome, 37.

Peter Canisius, Bl., 398.

Peter the Great, of Russia, 488–490.

Petition of Right, 432.

Petrarch (pē′trärk), 336.

Petrograd, 490, 841.

Philip II, of *Spain*, 367, 381, 400-402, 404; **Ph. III**, 405; **Ph. V**, 482.

Philip II, Augustus, of *France*, 192, 194, 231, 243, 280; **Ph. IV**, the Fair, 194, 195, 246, 327.

Philip of Suabia, 213.

Piarists, Order of, 398.

Picts, in present Scotland, 109, 110.

Piedmont-Sardinia, 432, 630, 695 ff.

Pilgrimage of Grace, 375.

Pilgrimages, medieval, 148, 237.

"Pilgrims," 423.

Pippin of Heristal, 70; **P. the Short**, 75, 77, 79.

Pisa (pee′sä), Council of, 331.

Pitt, William, the Elder, 497; the Younger, 741.

Pius V, *Pope*, 403; **P. VI**, 551, 585; **P. VII**, 504, 589, 605; **P. IX**, 691 ff.

Plantä′gĕnet (Angevins), Kings of England, 166 ff.; table of Pl. kings, 187. See *England*.

Plantations, in Ireland, 392, 450.

"Plain" in French Revolution, 552, 564.

Pocket Boroughs, 715.

Poitiers (pwä-tĭ-ā′), battle of, 283, 284.

Poland, 103; Christianized, 107; and Teutonic Knights, 247, 321; and Protestantism, 370; King Sobieski, 502; partitions of, 505; 506; as Duchy of Warsaw, 600; after Congress of Vienna, 615; rising of 1830, 643; and Slavophilism, 837.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Pomerania, conversion of, 250, note; Swedish, 412; Prussian, 615.
Pompeii (pom-pā′yē), 27.
"**Poor Clares**," 233.
Pope, see *Papacy*.
Port Arthur, 830, 866.
Portugal, origin, 318; and geographical explorations, 344; colonial empire, 344, 470; seized by Spain, 402, note; and Peninsular War, 601; review from 1814, 808; republic, 808; present conditions, 809.
Prehistoric, term explained, 1, note.
Premonstratensians, 106, 150 (a), 369.
Presbyterianism, in Scotland, 369, 393, 395, 451; see *Puritanism*.
"**Pride's Purge**," 446.
Printing, invention of, 339, 341.
Protestants, origin of name, 362, note; in Germany, 356–367; Switzerland, 368, 369; Scandinavia, etc., 370; England, 379–386; Ireland, 392; see *Presbyterianism;* effects of, 396; in the Netherlands, 399–402; France, 406.
Prussia, ancient, conquered and Christianized, 247; losses after wars with Poland, 321; becomes Protestant Dukedom, 370; annexed by Brandenburg, see *Brandenburg*.
Prussia, see *Brandenburg;* under Frederick II, 494, 496, 499, 605; and Poland, 506; and French Revolution and Napoleon, 554, 557, 559, 580, 599, 605; reforms in, 608; and "allies" of 1813, 611; after Congress of Vienna, 615; reaction in, 623; and '48, 686 ff.; humiliation at Olmütz, 688; William I, 701 ff.; the army, 702; Bismarck, 703 ff.; Danish War, 704; Six Weeks' War, 705, 706. See *North German Confederation, German Empire*.
Pül-tä′vä, battle of, 490.
Puritanism, explained, 369, 420; English divisions, 421, 423–451; and Restoration, 436; and America, 473. See *Calvin, Presbyterianism*.
Pym, John, 438, 439; Grand Remonstrance, 440; one of the "Five Members," 441.

Quadrivium, 29.
Queen Anne's War, 482.
"**Quia Emptores**" statute (kwē′a), 182.
"**Quo War-ran′to**," writ of, 182.

Racine (rä-cēn′), poet, 485.
Radetski, general, 692.
Railway, invention of, 651.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 473.
Ramillies (rä-mē-yē′), battle of, 482.
Raphael, 343.
Rationalists, 520.
Red Cross, origin of, 679, note.
Redemption of Captives, order of, 250.
Referendum, in Switzerland, 819.
Reform in the Church, need and possibility of, 219–234, 346–352.
Reform Bill, English, of 1832, 718 ff.; of 1867, 725; of 1884, 726.
Reformation, term explained, 396; true R., 398, 224–234, 349–352; Protestant Ref., see *Protestantism*.
Reichstag (rīĸs′täg), German, 774.
Relics of Saints, 148.
Religious Orders, see *Monasticism*.
Religious Wars, 399 ff.
Rembrandt ('-brant), 343.
Renaissance, 336 ff.
Ribault (rē-bō′), 471.
Richard I, of *England*, 176, 192, 243; R. II, 291, 292; R. III, 300, 302.
Richelieu (rē′shĕl-yû), 408, 477.
Riga, 247, 822.
Rights of Man, Declaration of, 548.
Roads, 11, 28, 660.
Robert, Duke of Normandy, 163.
Robert the Strong, 188.
Robespierre (rō-bĕs-pī-ār′), 54.
Roland, Song of, 84, note.
Rolf the Dane, 102.
Rollin Ledrun (ro′leñ lĕ′druñ), 670.
Roman Empire, origin, 17; territory, 22, 25; prosperity for two centuries,

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

25 ff.; municipal life and industries, 27; roads and travel, 28; literature and learning, 29; morals, 30, 31; decline of two centuries, 31 ff.; retarded by Diocletian, 32; classes of society, 34–36; end of, in the West, survival in the East, 43; see *Teutons;* contributions to civilization, 95; restored by *Holy Roman Empire.*

Roman Law, 23, 63.

Roman Question, 792.

Romance languages, 55, 98, note.

Romanow, family of the, 102.

Rome, Ancient, geography and character, 17; limitations in government, 18; see *Roman Empire.*

Romilly and Penal Reform, 717, 732.

Roncalian Fields, Assembly of, 228.

"Root and Branch" men, 439.

Rossbach (-bäĸ), battle of, 496.

Rotten Boroughs, 715.

Roumania, wins freedom, 845; war of 1913, 854; in Great War, 880, 883.

"Roundheads," 442.

Rousseau (rōō-sō'), on Voltaire, 521; doctrines, 522.

Rubens, 343.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, 309.

Rudolph of Suabia, 228.

Rump Parliament, 446.

Runnymede, 178.

Rurik, founder of Russia, 102.

Russell, Lord John, 718 ff., 722.

Russia, 102, 235; and Mongol invasion, 214; recovers independence, 487; expansion towards seas, 490, 491; and Poland, 506; and Napoleon I, 599 f.; gains at Congress of Vienna, 615; and Holy Alliance, 619; and Greeks, 634; and Crimean War, 679; growth reviewed, 830; government, 836 ff.; emancipation of peasants, 832–833; Slavophil movement, 835; Russianizing of Poland and Finland, 837; Tsars since 1801, 839; Terrorists, 834; liberal movement since 1904, 841 ff.; "Red Sunday," 841; first Duma, 841; later Dumas, 842 ff.; and Great War, 878 ff.; revolution of 1917, 882.

Russo-Japanese War, 867.

Russo-Turkish War, of 1877, 847.

Ruyter (roi'tĕr), Admiral, 479.

Sadowa (sä'dō-vä), battle of, 706.

St. Gotthard, battle of, 502.

St. Helena, and Napoleon, 618.

St. Just, and plans for reform, 569.

St. Petersburg, see *Petrograd.*

Saint-Simon (-sĭ-mŏñ'), 661.

Sakhalin (sä-kä-lyĕn'), 867.

Saladin, 243, 245.

Salian Emperors, 207.

Salm, Count, 365.

Sä-lō-nī'cä, 851, 854.

Sän Stef'ä-no, Peace of, 847.

Saracens, term defined, 71, note; see *Mohammedans.*

Sardinia, see *Piedmont-Sardinia;* and Congress of Vienna, 614, 618; and revolution of 1821, 630; see *Italy.*

Savoy, annexed to France, 580; returned to Piedmont-Sardinia, 618; regained by France, 679.

Saxons, 47, 52; see *Britain;* and Charlemagne, 84; German "stem" duchy, 197, 199.

Scanderbeg, 320.

Scandinavia, see *Northmen, Denmark, Norway, Sweden*, also 322.

Schism (sĭsm), term explained, 235, note 2; Great Eastern, 235; Great Western, 329–333.

Schoolmen, the, 269–276, 836.

Schools, Roman, 29; Irish, 45, 62; and monasteries, 60; and Charlemagne, 91, 266; see *Universities.*

Schools, English Board, 737.

Schurz (shŏŏrts), **Carl**, 687.

Science, in Middle Ages, 273–276; during Renaissance, 342.

Scotland, Christianization, 42; wars with England, 167, 180; Presbyterian, 393–395; united to England, 425; and Civil War, 437–443; Act of Union, 468; see *England.*

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Scrooby Pilgrims, 423.
Scutage, 168.
Sedan (sā-dăn′), battle of, 738.
Seljuk Turks, see *Turks*.
Semites, origin, 4.
Sempach (-pak), battle of, 321.
Senlac, battle of, 153.
Separatists, 421.
"September Massacres," 562.
Serbians, 319; in recent times, 844 ff.
Serfdom, Roman, 36; feudal, 120, 122; disappearance in England, 287 ff.; in France, 509–512; in Germany, 609; Prussia, 608; disappearance in Russia, 832–833.
Servetus (sĕr-vā′tus), 369.
Servians, see *Serbians*.
Seven Years' War, 494–497.
Severus, Alexander, 23.
Seymour (sē′mŏr), **Jane**, 378.
Shakspere, William, 388, 413.
Sheriff, English, 154, 155, 157.
Ship-Money, in England, 435, 438.
Shire, English County, 154.
Si-ăm′, 863.
"Sicilian Vespers," 216.
Sicily, see *Two Sicilies, Kingdom of*.
Sieyès (sĭă-yās′), 531, 532, 544, 587.
Sigismund, Emperor, 311, 333, 334.
Silesia, 494, 496, 887.
Simon of Montfort, 179, 185.
Simony, 221.
Slavery, 15, 30, 31; and Church, 41; slave trade and piracy, 619.
Slavs, 49, 53, 85, 96; homes and character, 103; conversion, 104–107, 250; in Austrian Empire, 683, 795, 870.
Smith, Adam, 660.
Snelling, William, 338.
Social insurance, in Germany, 823.
Socialism, rise, 660; in France, 669; in Germany, 785 ff.; in Italy, 790; in Spain, 806; in Belgium, 812; in Russia, 834.
Socrates, 14.
Solferino, battle of, 679.
Solomon, King, 10.
Sol′ŷ-man the Magnificent, 365.
Sophia, of Hanover, 461.
Sources of History, 1.
South Africa, and England, 615 *d*, 755.
Spain, Kingdom of West Goths in, 51; Arab conquest, 73; and Charlemagne, 84; gradual recovery, and origin of Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, 318; Innocent III and, 231; Spanish Inquisition, 324; reform work of Cardinal Ximenes, 350; united with, and separated from, Austria, 359, 367; and France, 364; Netherlands and, 399 ff.; and Turks, 403; and England, 404; and Moriscos, and colonial policy, 405; and New World, 405, 470; loses Gibraltar, 482; Revolution of 1820, 629; and Holy Alliance, 633; from 1800–1833, 800; Carlists and Christinos, 801; republic, 802; parties and progress, 803 ff.; loss of colonies, 628, 807.
Spanish America, after French Revolution, 628.
Spanish-American War, 807.
Spanish March, 84, 318.
Spanish Succession, War of, 482.
Spenser, Edmund, 388.
Spires, Diet of, 362.
Squire, feudal training of, 136.
Staël, Madame de, 596.
Stamford Bridge, 153.
Stanley, Henry, explorer, 862.
States General, see *Estates General*.
Steamboat, invention of, 650.
Steelyard, the, 261.
Stein (shtīn), 608; defeated by Metternich at Vienna, 622; on Metternich, 632.
Stephen III, St., Pope, 79.
Stephen of Blois, 241.
Stephen, of England, 164.
Stephen, St., of Hungary, 108.
Stephenson, inventor, 651.
Storthing, Norwegian, 825.
Stralsund (sträl-sŏŏnt′), Peace of, 261.
Strassburg (sträs′bo͝orG), 98, note, 480; 713.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Strongbow, Richard, 171.
Stuart Kings, 393, 425 ff.
Suabia, see *Alemanni;* 197, 208, 213.
Sully (sül-ȳ′), Duke of, 407.
Sunnites, 236.
Swatopluk (swä′tō-pluk), 103.
Sweden, conversion of, 102; and Denmark, 322; becomes Lutheran, 370; and Thirty Years' War, 410–412; and American colonies, 470; and Russia, 490, 491; at Congress of Vienna, 615; franchise reform, 829.
Switzerland, to 1648, 314, 412; Helvetic Republic, 585; and Congress of Vienna, 615; Sonderbund War, 817; constitution, 818; direct legislation, 819; place in history, 820.
Syllogism, 272.

Talleyrand (täl-ā-räñ′), 550, 551.
Tannenberg, battle of, 311, 882.
Telescope, invention of, 342, 345.
Temporal Sovereignty, meaning of, 81.
Tetzel, John, 355.
Teutonic Law, 66, 67.
Teutonic Order, 240, 247, 321, 370.
Teutons, 22, 46–48; invasions, 50 ff.; fusion with Roman populations, 54, 64, 66–68; contributions to later civilization, 95; in Britain, 52, 110–113; see *Northmen*, and other individual races.
Thē′o-bald, Archbishop, 166.
Theodoric the Great, 51.
Theodore of Canterbury, St., 112.
Thiers (tȳ-ār′), 638, 666, 713, 762.
Third Estate, 253.
Thirty-nine Articles, 385.
Thirty Years' War, 409–412.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 234, 274.
Thomas à Becket, St., 169, 170.
Thomas à Kempis, 351.
Thor (tōr), 47.
Thucydides (thōō-cid′i-dēz), 14.
Thuringia, 69, 70, 197, 214.
Tilly, General, 410.
Tilsit, Peace of, 600.
Titus, Roman Emperor, 23.
Togo, Admiral, 867.
Tō′kō-lȳ, 502.
Torture, in the Middle Ages, 325.
Tory, 458; and Conservatives, 722.
Tostig, 153.
Toul (tōōl), becomes French, 366, 412.
Toulouse (tōō-lōōz′), 188, 193.
Tournaments, 133.
Tours (tōōr), battle of, 73.
Towns, under Roman Empire, 27; survival in parts of Europe, 68, 98; rise in Germany, 199, 207, 214, 260, 261; in Italy, 203, 208, 215, 217, 252, 259; in France, 194, 259; general rise of, 253, 254, 259; in England, 176, 259; growth after Industrial Revolution, 657.
Townships, 154, 155.
Trā-fal′gär, battle of, 598.
Transylvania, 370, 502, 503, 880.
Trent, Council of, 398.
Trēv′i-thick, Richard, inventor, 651.
Tricolor, 537.
Triple Alliance, 870.
Triple Entente (äñ-täñt′), 872.
Trivium, 29.
Troppau (trop′pou), Congress of, 631.
Troubadours (troo-ba-dōōrs′), 264.
Trouveurs (troo-vörs′), 264.
Truce of God, 127, 207.
Tsar, title, 487.
Tudor Monarchs, 360; table of, 371, note.
Tuileries (twēl-rē′), 557, 568, 760.
Tunis, 365, 771, 870.
Turgot (tür-gō′), 526.
Turks, 236; see *Crusades;* in Southeastern Europe, 319, 320, 365, 403; lose Greece, 634; lose Balkan peninsula, 845 ff.; revolution of 1908, 851; in Great War, 879 ff.
Two Sicilies, Kingdom of, 211; separated into Naples and Sicily, 216; united under Spain, 298; see *Naples.*
Tyler, Wat, 291.

Ulm (ōōlm), battle of, 518.
Ulric, St., 200.
Ulster Plantation, 392.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

United States, in World Politics, 864; in Great War, 884 ff.
Universities, Roman, 29; in Middle Ages, 267 ff.
Urban II, Pope, 237.
Ursuline Nuns, 398.
Utrecht, Union of, 402; Peace of, 482.

Valerian, Roman Emperor, 23.
Valmy (väl-mē′), battle of, 563.
Valois (väl-wä′), House of, 281, note.
Vandals, 51.
Van Dyck (dīk′), 343.
Varangians, 102.
Varna, battle of, 319.
Vasco da Gama, 344.
Vassals, feudal, 118, 120, 121.
Velasquez (vĕ-läs′keth) 343.
Vendée (väñ-dā′), 570–572.
Venice, and Emperor, 259; after 4th Crusade, 244; and Bonaparte, 581, 582; and Austria, 581, 582, 615; after War of 1859, 697; after War of 1866, 707.
Ver-dun′, Treaty of, 98; becomes French, 366, 412; lost and taken by French armies, 562, 563.
Verona, Congress of, 633.
Versailles (vĕr-säy′), 484, 532, 542, 758.
Vespasian, Roman Emperor, 23.
Victor Emmanuel II, 692.
Victoria, Queen, of England, 752.
Vienna, sieges of, 365, 502; Congress of, 614, 620.
Villages, in feudal times, 128–131; in England, 154, 156.
Villeins, see *Serfdom*.
Virginia Company, 473.
Visigoths, see *West Goths*.
Vladivostock (vla-dyē-vas′tok), and Russia, 830.
Voltaire (vol-tār′), 521.

Wagram, battle of, 603.
Waiblingen (vī′bling-en), 210.
Waiheiwai (wī-hā-wī′), 866.
Wales, 111 (2), 167, 180.
Wallenstein (väl′lĕn-stīn), 410.
Wallingford, Treaty of, 166.
Walpole, Sir Robert, 465.
Walter the Penniless, 238.
Walworth, 291.
War of 1812, 612.
Warham, 372.
Warsaw, Duchy of, 600, 615.
Wars of the Roses, 299–301.
Wartburg (värt-boorg), celebration of 1817, 626.
Waterloo, 617.
Watling Street, 115.
Watts, James, inventor, 648.
Wedmore, Treaty of, 115.
Wellesley (wĕlz-ly), 602.
Wellington, and Peninsular War, 602; and Waterloo, 617; and Parliamentary Reform, 718.
Wenceslaus, St., 105.
Wessex, 110, 113–115.
West Goths, 51, 73.
Westphalia, Kingdom of, 600, 605 (3); Peace of, 412.
Whigs, 458, 465; take name *Liberal*, 722, note.
Whitby, Council of, 112.
Whitney, Eli, inventor, 647.
Widukind (vē′dukĭnt), 84.
Wilberforce, 732.
William I, of *England*, 153, 158, 159, 162, 230; **W. II**, 163, 230; **W. III**, Orange, 460, 461, 463, 464, 466, 467, 479, 481; **W. IV**, 718, 719.
William I, of Germany, 701; **W. II**, 780–781; resigns, 885.
William the Silent, 401, 402.
William Tell, myth of, 314 note.
Winchelsey, Archbishop, 185.
Windesheim (vĭn′dĕs-hīm), Congregation of, 351.
Windthorst (wint′horst), 783.
Witan (wĭ′tän), 152, 183.
Wittenberg (vĭt′tĕn-bĕrg), 356.
Woden, 47.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 338, 372.
Women, suffrage, in England, 726; in Norway, 827.
Worcester, battle of, 450.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Worms (vōrms), Concordat of, 229; Diet of, 359.
Würtemberg (vür'tem-berg), 411, 606, 607, 624, 707.
Wyclif, John, and Lollards, 288, 289, 332.

Xenophon (ze'nō-fōn), 634.
Ximenes (ki-mā'nes), 350.

Yalu (ya-lōō') battle of, 817.
Yeomen, English, 283.
York, House of, 291 note, 299.
Young, Arthur, 507, 645.
Young Ireland, 743.
Young Italy, 691.
Young Turks, 851, 852.

Zachary, Pope, 77.
Zenta, battle of, 503.
Zorndorf (tsorn'dorf), 496.
Zülpich (tzül'pik), battle of, 69.
Zürich (tsü'rik), 815.
Zwingli (tsvĭng'lē), 368.

W 82

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